



W. Barron Jun<sup>r</sup> Sculp<sup>t</sup>.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Geo<sup>l</sup> Washington



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LEGACIES  
OF  
WASHINGTON:  
BEING  
A COLLECTION  
OF THE  
*MOST APPROVED WRITINGS*  
OF THE LATE  
*GENERAL WASHINGTON,*  
WITH AN  
APPENDIX,  
CONTAINING  
*A SKETCH OF THE LIFE*  
OF THIS  
ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOT,  
*&c. &c.*

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TRENTON,  
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M. DCCC.





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## PREFACE.

THE following pages, containing the most interesting and most celebrated productions of the pen of WASHINGTON, cannot fail to prove highly acceptable to every friend of genuine liberty, and the happiness of mankind. The great truths which they inculcate—the sound political doctrines which they contain, will necessarily place them in a high rank among literary productions. On their intrinsic merits, the exalted virtues and dignified character of the author, shed such a lustre, as to excite universal attention, and to command unlimited respect and admiration. By *Americans* they will be regarded as inestimable *legacies*. They are the advice of a man, who, under God, has raised them from a humble state of vassalage and dependence, to an elevated rank among the nations of the earth. They are the maxims of a patriot, whose whole soul was occupied with the interests of his country, whose whole life was dedicated to her service. They are the precepts of a Father anxious for the welfare of his beloved children.

It has ever been the laudable custom of nations to preserve, with pious fidelity, the opinions and doctrines of men, eminent for virtue, for wisdom, or for meritorious services. The Jews regarded, with religious veneration, the laws of Moses—The Spartans had their Lycurgus, and the Athenians their Solon. The name and the institutions of Alfred are the pride and boast of English story. The *Americans*, if they are not guilty of the blackest ingratitude, will cherish with no less anxious solicitude, the *precious legacies* of their WASHINGTON.

AN ardent love of his country, a genuine spirit of liberty, a pure morality, an high respect for religion and its duties, breathe through every line of the writings of our hero. In the following pages, in a style remarkable for simplicity and perspicuity, are detailed those principles, by which, through life, he was actuated, and by his success he has demonstrated

their validity. They do not rest their claim to approbation and confidence, merely on speculative opinion, or on analogical reasoning—They are grounded on experience—They are the result of practical observation—They rely on the unparalleled greatness of their author for their title to respect and veneration.

THE stroke of death has snatched from us, the man whom America considered as her guardian and protector. But he still lives, to counsel, to support and to protect, in those oracles of truth and wisdom he has left his countrymen. If we follow them, we shall be prosperous and happy ; our government will be stable and if, finally, we also must sink under those calamities which have marked the destinies of other nations, by an obedience to his precepts, that mournful event, will be protracted until the latest period.

AMERICANS! it is your wish to express, in the highest terms, your gratitude to your benefactor. Your orators and poets are celebrating his virtues and exploits in eulogy and song. You are erecting statues and monuments to the Father of your country. The highest expressions of gratitude will consist in imitating his virtues—The sweetest eulogies will arise from the hearts of a people, prosperous and happy, under the guidance of his counsels—The noblest monument to his fame, will be his country, great among the nations of the earth, powerful to protect her rights and avenge her injuries, generous to forgive repentant enemies, and united in peace and harmony, forming one grand family of brethren.





# LEGACIES

OF THE LATE

GENERAL WASHINGTON,



Continental Congress—1775.

JUNE 16.

*The PRESIDENT informed Colonel WASHINGTON, that the CONGRESS had Yesterday unanimously made Choice of him to be General and Commander in Chief of the American Forces, and requested he would accept of that Employment; to which Col. WASHINGTON, standing in his Place,*

ANSWERED:

Mr. PRESIDENT,

**T**HOUGH I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power, I possess, in their service, and for support of the GLORIOUS CAUSE. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

BUT, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.

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## A CIRCULAR LETTER

*From his Excellency* GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
*COMMANDER IN CHIEF of the ARMIES of the*  
*UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to the GO-*  
*VERNORS of the several STATES.*

Head-Quarters, Newburg, June 18, 1783.

SIR,

THE great object for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a

long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose ; but, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor ; to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States ; to take my leave of your Excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life ; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights ; and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

IMPRESSED with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favorable manner in which it has terminated, we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing : this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness ; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.



THE Citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favored with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than the recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our Republic assumed its rank among the nations.

THE foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government: the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners,

the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

SUCH is our situation, and such are our prospects; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us—notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own; yet it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation; this is the moment, when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the time to establish or ruin their national character forever; this is the favorable moment to give such a tone to the Federal Government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the Confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse; a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

WITH this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments, may perhaps remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives—the part I have hitherto acted in life—the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter—the ardent desire I feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government—will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this address.

THERE are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

1<sup>st</sup>. AN indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

2<sup>dly</sup>. A SACRED regard to public justice.

3<sup>dly</sup>. THE adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

4<sup>thly</sup>. THE prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local preju-



dices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

THESE are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

ON the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

UNDER the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the Union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the States to delegate a large proportion of power to Congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions: That unless the States will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion.—That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged, somewhere, a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated

republic, without which the Union cannot be of long duration.—That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every State with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue.—That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.—And lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the States to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the Union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on the dissolution of the Union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary pro-

gression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny ; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, Congress have, in their late Address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject ; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the States are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion, no real friend to the honor and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honorable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised ; and that, if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted ; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the States.

THE ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting ; the path of our duty is plain before us ; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as



a nation, be just ; let us fulfil the public contracts which Congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America ; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection.— Every one will reap the fruit of his labours ; every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

IN this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government ? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if at the expense of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions ? Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain indebted for the defence of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honor and of gratitude ? In what part of the continent shall we find any man or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due ? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down, upon the authors of such measures,

the aggravated vengeance of Heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the States; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the Union; if there should be a refusal to comply with the requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed—Congress, who have in all their transactions shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! And that State alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious counsels, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of having acted while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not willing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by Congress to the officers of the army. From these communications, my decided sentiments will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons, which induced me at an early period to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceed-

ings of Congress, the army, and myself are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which I am informed, has in some instances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded forever: that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed: it was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service; it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honour; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

WITH regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards, in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps generally had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have



been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation; in others, if besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of cloathing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate, the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause; but neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will, in any manner affect, much less militate against the act of Congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

BEFORE I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of Congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, for an annual pension for life. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance



can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessities of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your State, to the warmest patronage of your Excellency and your Legislature.

It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the Union upon a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I would beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

THE militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility: it is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole, that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of the address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology: it is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention; consonant to the immutable rules of justice; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expence than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular States: that the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress in some of the States, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in

which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering than that which I have had the honor to command. But while I mention those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our Federal Constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual States, on many interesting occasions.

I HAVE thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me: the task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the Chief Magistrate of your State; at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your Legislature, at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the Legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the State over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subor-

ination and obedience to government ; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow citizens of the United States at large ; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field ; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the divine Author of our blessed religion ; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I HAVE the honor to be, with much esteem and respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

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## FAREWELL ADDRESS

*Of GENERAL WASHINGTON to the ARMIES  
of the UNITED STATES.*

Rocky-Hill, near Princeton, November 2, 1783.

THE United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honorable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers



on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned; it only remains for the Commander in Chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States, (however widely dispersed individuals who compose them may be) and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell.

BUT before the Commander in Chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past:—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the Address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A CONTEMPLATION of the complete attainment, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving—while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this Address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes, in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who, that was not a witness, could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate

in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labors? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment: and the extensive and fertile regions of the West will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the Union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in re-commencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

IN order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the States, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the Union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit; yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate con-



duct ; let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause ; let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence ; and let a consciousness of their achievements, and fame, still excite the men who composed them to honorable actions, under the persuasion, that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance and enterprize, were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the General has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the Federal Government were properly supported, and the powers of the Union encreased, the honor, dignity, and justice of the nation, would be lost forever ; yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavors to those of his worthy fellow citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The Commander in Chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of a citizen, but that steady and

decent tenor of behavior, which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipated the happiest consequences; and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks, in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardor in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To various branches of the army the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship: He wishes more than bare professions were in his power; that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only

again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the divine, auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed forever.

Continued

## ANSWER.

*To his Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON,  
Commander in Chief of the ARMIES of the  
UNITED STATES of AMERICA.*

**W**E, the officers of the part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson, have received your Excellency's serious and farewell Address to the armies of the United States. We beg you to accept our unfeigned thanks for the communication, and your affectionate assurances of inviolable attachment and friendship. If your attempts to ensure to the armies the just, the promised rewards, of their long, severe, and dangerous services, have failed of success, we believe it has arisen from causes not in your Excellency's power to controul. With extreme regret do we reflect on the occasion which called for such endeavors. But while we thank your Excellency for these exertions in favor of the troops you have so successfully commanded,



we pray it may be believed, that in this sentiment our own particular interests have but a secondary place ; and that even the ultimate ingratitude of the people (were that possible) could not shake the patriotism of those who suffer by it. Still with pleasing wonder and with grateful joy shall we contemplate the glorious conclusion of our labors. To that merit in the revolution which, under the auspices of Heaven, the armies have displayed, posterity will do justice ; and the sons will blush whose fathers were their foes.

Most gladly would we cast a veil on every act which sullies the reputation of our country—never should the page of history be stained with its dishonor—even from our memories should the idea be erased. We lament the opposition to those salutary measures which the wisdom of the Union has planted ; measures which alone can recover and fix on a permanent basis the credit of the States ; measures which are essential to the justice, the honor, and interest of the nation. While she was giving the noblest proofs of magnanimity, with conscious pride we saw her growing fame ; and, regardless of present sufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, to brighter scenes in prospect. There we beheld the genius of our country dignified by sovereignty and independence, supported by justice, and adorned with every liberal virtue. There we saw patient Husbandry fearlessly extend her cultured fields, and animated Commerce spread her sails to every wind. There we beheld fair Science lift her head, with all the Arts attending in her train. There, blest with freedom, we saw the human mind expand ; and, throwing aside the

restraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country, it embraced the world. Such were our fond hopes, and with such delightful prospects did they present us. Nor are we disappointed. Those animating prospects are now changed and changing to realities; and actively to have contributed to their production is our pride—our glory. But justice alone can give them stability. In that justice we still believe. Still we hope that the prejudices of the misinformed will be removed, and the arts of false and selfish popularity, addressed to the feelings of avarice, defeated; or, in the worst event, the world, we hope, will make the just distinction; we trust the dissingenuousness of a few will not sully the reputation, the honour, and dignity, of the great and respectable majority of the States.

WE are happy in the opportunity just presented of congratulating your Excellency on the certain conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace. Relieved at length from long suspense, our warmest wish is to return to the bosom of our country, to resume the character of citizens; and it will be our highest ambition to become useful ones. To your Excellency this great event must be peculiarly pleasing; for while at the head of her armies, urged by patriot virtues and magnanimity, you persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and discouragement, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and safety of your country;—your heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. We cordially rejoice with you, that the period of indulging them has arrived so soon. In contemplating the blessings of liberty and independence, the rich prize of eight years hardy

adventure, past sufferings will be forgotten ; or if remembered, the recollection will serve to heighten the relish of present happiness. We sincerely pray God this happiness may long be yours ; and that when you quit the stage of human life, you may receive from the unerring Judge, the rewards of valor exerted to save the oppressed, of patriotism, and disinterested virtue.

*West Point, November 15, 1783.*

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## ADDRESS

*Of GENERAL WASHINGTON to CONGRESS,  
on the Resignation of his Commission.*

MR. PRESIDENT,

**T**HE great events, on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

HAPPY in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty—and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation—I resign, with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence ; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.



THE successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations: and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

WHILE I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family, should have been more fortunate; permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

I CONSIDER it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

HAVING now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

G. WASHINGTON.

*City of Annapolis, Dec. 23, 1783.*

LEGACIES OF  
ANSWER.

SIR,

**T**HE United States in Congress assembled receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and a doubtful war.

CALLED upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you.

You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes; you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

HAVING defended the standard of liberty in this new world—having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel, oppression—you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command: it will continue to animate remotest

ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

WE join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care: that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.

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### First Congress—*First Session.*

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NEW-YORK, APRIL 30, 1789.

THIS day the great and illustrious WASHINGTON, the favorite son of liberty, and deliverer of his country, entered upon the execution of the office of First Magistrate of the United States of America; to which important station he had been unanimously called by the united voice of the people. The ceremony which took place on this occasion was truly grand and pleasing, and every heart seemed anxious to testify the joy it felt on so memorable an event. His Excellency was escorted



from his house, by a troop of light dragoons, and the legion under the command of Colonel LEWIS attended by a committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, to Federal Hall, where he was formally received by both houses of Congress assembled in the Senate Chamber; after which he was conducted to the gallery in front of the hall accompanied by all the members, when the oath prescribed by the Constitution was administered to him by the Chancellor of this State, who then said

“LONG LIVE *GEORGE WASHINGTON*,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES;”

which was answered by an immense concourse of citizens, assembled on the occasion, by the loudest plaudit and acclamation, that love and veneration ever inspired. He then made the following

### S P E E C H :

*FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND  
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,*

**A**MONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition

habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

SUCH being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the

United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will ac-



quit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer you to the great Constitutional Charter under which we are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I DWELL on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal

rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained: and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps, as *finally* staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

BESIDES the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the Fifth Article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country,

then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

HAVING thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

G. WASHINGTON.



## ANSWER

*Of the SENATE to the PRESIDENT'S  
SPEECH.*

SIR,

**W**E, the Senate of the United States, return you our sincere thanks for your excellent speech, delivered to both Houses of Congress; congratulate you on the complete organization of the federal government, and felicitate ourselves and our fellow citizens, on your elevation to the office of President; an office, highly important by the powers constitutionally annexed to it, and extremely honorable from the manner in which the appointment is made. The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favor, is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence and affection of the citizens of America, and is the highest testimonial at once of your merit, and of their esteem. We are sensible, Sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow citizens, could have called you from a retreat, chosen by the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose of declining years; we rejoice, and with us, all America, that in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to public life. In you all parties confide, in you all interests unite, and we have no doubt, that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions; and that your prudence and sagacity as a statesman, will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendour to that

country, which your skill and valor as a foldier, so eminently contributed to raife to independence and empire.

WHEN we contemplate the coincidence of circumstances, and wonderful combination of caufes, which gradually prepared the people of this country for independence; when we contemplate the rife, progress and termination of the late war, which gave them a name among the nations of the earth, we are, with you, unavoidably led to acknowledge and adore the great Arbiter of the universe, by whom empires rife and fall. A review of the many fignal instances of divine interposition in favor of this country, claims our moft pious gratitude. And permit us, Sir, to obferve, that among the great events which have led to the formation and establishment of a federal government, we efteem your acceptance of the office of Prefident as one of the moft propitious and important.

IN execution of the trust reposed in us, we fhall endeavor to purfue that enlarged and liberal policy, to which your fpeech fo happily directs. We are confcious that the profperity of each State is infeparably connected with the welfare of all, and that in promoting the latter, we fhall effectually advance the former. In full perfuafion of this truth, it fhall be our invariable aim to divest ourfelves of local prejudices and attachments, and to view the great Semblage of communities and interefts committed to our charge with an equal eye. We feel, Sir, the force, and acknowledge the juftnefs of the obfervation, that the foundation of our national policy fhould be laid in private morality. If individuals

be not influenced by moral principles, it is in vain to look for public virtue; it is, therefore, the duty of legislators to enforce, both by precept and example, the utility as well as the necessity of a strict adherence to the rules of distributive justice. We beg you to be assured, that the Senate will at all times cheerfully co-operate in every measure which may strengthen the Union, conduce to the happiness, or secure and perpetuate the liberties of this great confederated republic.

WE commend you, Sir, to the protection of Almighty God, earnestly beseeching him long to preserve a life so valuable and dear to the people of the United States; and that your administration may be prosperous to the nation and glorious to yourself.

In SENATE, May 16, 1789.

Signed by order,

JOHN ADAMS, *President of the  
Senate of the United States.*

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## REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

**I** THANK you for your address, in which the most affectionate sentiments are expressed in the most obliging terms. The coincidence of circumstances which led to this auspicious crisis; the confidence reposed in me by my fellow citizens, and the assistance I may expect from counsels which will be dictated by an enlarged and liberal policy, seem



to preface a more prosperous issue to my administration, than a diffidence of my abilities had taught me to anticipate. I now feel myself inexpressibly happy in a belief, that Heaven, which has done so much for our infant nation, will not withdraw its providential influence before our political felicity shall have been completed ; and in a conviction that the Senate will at all times co-operate in every measure which may tend to promote the welfare of this confederated republic.

THUS supported by a firm trust in the great Arbitrator of the universe, aided by the collected wisdom of the Union, and imploring the divine benediction on our joint exertions in the service of our country, I readily engage with you in the arduous, but pleasing task of attempting to make a nation happy.

G. WASHINGTON.

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## ANSWER

*Of the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES,  
to the PRESIDENT's SPEECH.*

SIR,

THE Representatives of the People of the United States present their congratulations on the event by which your fellow citizens have attested the pre-eminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem ; you have often received tokens of their affection ; you now possess

the only proof that remained of their gratitude for your service, of their reverence for your wisdom, and of their confidence in your virtues. You enjoy the highest, because the truest honor, of being the First Magistrate, by the unanimous choice of the freest people on the face of the earth.

WE well know the anxieties with which you must have obeyed a summons, from the repose reserved for your declining years, into public scenes, of which you had taken your leave forever ; but the obedience was due to the occasion. It is already applauded by the universal joy which welcomes you to your station, and we cannot doubt but that it will be rewarded with all the satisfaction, with which an ardent love for your fellow citizens must review successful efforts to promote their happiness.

THIS anticipation is not justified merely by the past experience of your signal services. It is particularly suggested by the pious impressions under which you commence your administration, and the enlightened maxims by which you mean to conduct it. We feel with you the strongest obligations to adore the invisible hand which has led the American people through so many difficulties, to cherish a conscious responsibility for the destiny of republican liberty, and to seek the only sure means of preserving and recommending the precious deposit in a system of legislation, founded on the principles of an honest policy, and directed by the spirit of a diffusive patriotism.

THE question arising out of the Fifth Article of the Constitution, will receive all the attention de-

manded by its importance, and will, we trust, be decided under the influence of all the considerations to which you allude.

IN forming the pecuniary provisions for the executive department, we shall not loose sight of a wish resulting from motives which give it a peculiar claim to our regard. Your resolution in a moment critical to the liberties of your country, to renounce all personal emolument, was among the many prefaces of your patriotic services, which have been amply fulfilled; and your scrupulous adherence now to the law then imposed on yourself, cannot fail to demonstrate the purity, whilst it encreases the lustre of a character, which has so many titles to admiration.

SUCH are the sentiments which we have thought fit to address to you: they flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe, that among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous citizen whose heart will disown them.

ALL that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplication for the blessings of Heaven on our country; and that we add our own for the choicest of those blessings on the most beloved of her citizens.



# LEGACIES OF REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

**Y**OUR very affectionate address produces emotions which I know not how to express. I feel that my past endeavors in the service of my country are far overpaid by its goodness; and I fear much that my future ones may not fulfil your kind anticipation. All that I can promise is, that they will be invariably directed by an honest and ardent zeal. Of this resource my heart assures me. For all beyond, I rely on the wisdom and patriotism of those with whom I am to co-operate, and a continuance of the blessings of Heaven on our beloved country.

G. WASHINGTON.

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Third Congress—*First Session.*

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## S P E E C H

Of GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT of  
the UNITED STATES, to CONGRESS on his *Second*  
*Election to the Presidency.*

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FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

**S**INCE the commencement of the term, for which I have been again called into office, no occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow

citizens at large, the deep and respectful sense, which I feel, of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality, with which I have been honored by my country; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives; and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions, having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage which commanded me to resume the executive power; and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavors for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relation; there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace, drawn into question, by the suspicions, too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our rights to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the proclamation, which will be laid before you, was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules which should con-

form to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports; I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory; or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a wartime form within the limits of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve or enforce this plan of procedure, and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand some further provisions.

WHEN individuals shall, within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war; or enter upon military expeditions, or enterprizes within the jurisdiction of the United States; or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties on violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate; these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

WHATSOEVER those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the Judiciary, who possess a long established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it. In like manner, as several of the courts have doubted,



under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false color of being hostile property; and have denied their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the Executive is to be the resort in either of the two last mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorized by law, to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he shall request it.

I CANNOT recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of *our* duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from *them* the fulfilment of *their* duties towards *us*. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known, that we are at all times ready for war.

THE documents which will be presented to you, will shew the amount, and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot

with prudence be neglected; as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger. Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy, equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an enquiry, which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act, "more effectually to provide for the national defence by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States," has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several States has not detected some imperfections in the scheme; and whether a material feature in an improvement of it, ought not to be to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art, which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone?

THE connexion of the United States with Europe, has become extremely interesting. The occurrences which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the Executive, will be exhibited to Congress in a subsequent communication.

WHEN we contemplate the war on our frontiers it may be truly affirmed that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity, proceeding from a sincere love of

peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States, the attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to it offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful, how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them, during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence which relate to this important subject, you will determine, whether the deficiency in the number of troops, granted by law, shall be compensated by successors of militia; or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits. An anxiety has been also demonstrated by the Executive, for peace with the Creeks and the Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with cloathing, and offensive measures against them prohibited, during the recess of Congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted for the violences committed upon them. But the papers, which will be delivered to you, disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes, and it is with Congress to pronounce what shall be done.

AFTER they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labors to render tranquillity with the savages, permanent, by creating ties of interest. Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations in behalf of the United States, is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with con-



stant and plentiful supplies, with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hope of profit; but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only. Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of Congress, they will recollect that it cannot be accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the Executive.

*Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,*

THE commissioners, charged with the settlement of accounts between the United and individual States, concluded their important functions, within the time limited by law; and the balances, struck in their report, which will be laid before Congress, have been placed on the books of the treasury.

ON the first day of June last, an installment of one million of florins became payable on the loans of the United States in Holland. This was adjusted by a prolongation of the period of reimbursement, in the nature of a new loan, at interest at five per cent. for the term of ten years; and the expenses of this operation were a commission of three per cent.

THE first installment of the loan of two millions of dollars from the bank of the United States, has been paid, as was directed by law. For the second, it is necessary that provision should be made.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent, than the regular redemption and discharge of the public

debt; on none, can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable.

THE productiveness of the public revenues hitherto, has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed of it; but it is not expected to prove commensurate with all the objects which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will, therefore, it is presumed, be requisite; and it is hoped that these may be made, consistently with a due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contribution to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

BUT here I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy; and to this primary good, nothing can produce more, than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused without restraint, throughout the United States.

AN estimate of the appropriations, necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores, made during the recess, will be presented to Congress.

*Gentlemen of the Senate and  
House of Representatives,*

THE several subjects to which I have now referred, open a wide range to your deliberations, and involve some of the choicest interests of our con-

mon country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded; without harmony, as far as consists with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or of candor, so shall not the public happiness languish, from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operations.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, December 3, 1793.*

## ANSWER

*Of the SENATE to the PRESIDENT'S  
SPEECH.*

**A**CCCEPT, Sir, the thanks of the Senate for your speech delivered to both houses of Congress at the opening of the session. Your re-election to the Chief Magistracy of the United States, gives us sincere pleasure. We consider it as an event every way propitious to the happiness of our country; and your compliance with the call, as a fresh instance of the patriotism which has so repeatedly led you to sacrifice private inclination to the public good. In the unanimity which a second time marks this important national act, we trace with particular satisfaction, besides the distinguished tribute paid to the virtues and abilities which it recognizes, another proof of that just discernment, and



constancy of sentiments and views, which have hitherto characterized the citizens of the United States.

As the European powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, were involved in war, in which we had taken no part, it seemed necessary that the disposition of the nation for peace should be promulgated to the world, as well for the purpose of admonishing our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of acts hostile to any of the belligerent parties, as to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities of our situation ; we therefore contemplate, with pleasure, the proclamation by you issued, and give it our hearty approbation. We deem it a measure well timed, and wise, manifesting a watchful solicitude for the welfare of the nation, and calculated to promote it.

THE several important matters presented to our consideration will, in the course of the session, engage all the attention to which they are respectively entitled ; and as the public happiness will be the sole guide of our deliberations, we are perfectly assured of receiving your strenuous and most zealous co-operation.

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-President of the United States & President of the Senate.*

LEGACIES OF  
REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

THE pleasure expressed by the Senate, on my re-election to the station which I fill, commands my sincere and warmest acknowledgments. If this be an event which promises the smallest addition to the happiness of our country, as it is my duty, so shall it be my study, to realize the expectation.

THE decided approbation, which the proclamation now receives from your house, by completing the proof, that this measure is considered as manifesting a vigilant attention to the welfare of the United States, brings with it a peculiar gratification to my mind.

THE other important subjects, which have been communicated to you, will, I am confident, receive a due discussion, and the result will, I trust, prove fortunate to the United States.

G. WASHINGTON.

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ANSWER

*Of the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES to the  
PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.*

SIR,

THE Representatives of the people of the United States, in meeting you for the first time since you have been again called by an unan-

mous suffrage to your present station, find an occasion which they embrace with no less sincerity than promptitude, for expressing to you their congratulations on so distinguished a testimony of public approbation, and their entire confidence in the purity and patriotism of the motives which have produced this obedience to the voice of your country. It is to virtues which have commanded long and universal reverence, and services from which have flowed great and lasting benefits, that the tribute of praise may be paid without the reproach of flattery; and it is from the same sources that the fairest anticipations may be derived in favor of the public happiness.

THE United States having taken no part in the war which has embraced in Europe the powers with whom they have the most extensive relations, the maintenance of peace was justly to be regarded as one of the most important duties of the magistraté charged with the faithful execution of the laws. We accordingly witness with approbation and pleasure the vigilance with which you have guarded against an interruption of that blessing, by your proclamation, admonishing our citizens of the consequences of illicit or hostile acts towards the belligerent parties; and promoting, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation.

THE connexion of the United States with Europe has evidently become extremely interesting. The communications which remain to be exhibited to us, will, no doubt, assist in giving us a fuller view of the subject, and in guiding our deliberations to such



results as may comport with the rights and true interests of our country.

WE learn with deep regret that the measures dictated by a love of peace for obtaining an amicable termination of the afflicting war on our frontier should have been frustrated, and that a resort to offensive measures should have again become necessary. As the latter, however, must be rendered more satisfactory in proportion to the solicitude for peace manifested by the former, it is to be hoped, they will be pursued under the better auspices on that account, and be finally crowned with more happy success.

IN relation to the particular tribes of Indians against whom offensive measures have been prohibited, as well as on all the other important subjects which you have presented to our view, we shall bestow the attention which they claim. We cannot, however, refrain at this time, from particularly expressing our concurrence in your anxiety for the regular discharge of the public debts, as fast as circumstances and events will permit; and in the policy of removing any impediments that may be found in the way of a faithful representation of public proceedings throughout the United States, being persuaded with you, that on no subject more than the former, can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable, and that with respect to the latter, no resource is so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy.

THROUGHOUT our deliberations we shall endeavor to cherish every sentiment which may contribute to render them conducive to the dignity, as well as to the welfare of the United States; and we join with you in imploring that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavors.

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## REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,

I SHALL not affect to conceal the cordial satisfaction which I derive from the address of the House of Representatives. Whatsoever those services may be which you have sanctioned by your favor, it is a sufficient reward, that they have been accepted, as they were meant. For the fulfilment of your anticipations of the future, I can give no other assurance, than that the motives, which you approve, shall continue unchanged.

It is truly gratifying to me, to learn, that the proclamation has been considered as a seasonable guard against the interruption of the public peace. Nor can I doubt, that the subjects which I have recommended to your attention, as depending upon legislative provisions, will receive a discussion suited to their importance. With every reason, then, it may be expected, that your deliberations, under the Divine blessing, will be matured to the honor and happiness of the United States.

G. WASHINGTON.

## LEGACIES OF FAREWELL ADDRESS,

*Of GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT of  
the UNITED STATES, to his FELLOW CITIZENS  
on declining their future Suffrages for the Pre-  
sidency.*

FRIENDS & FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I BEG you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country ; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest ; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness ; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

THE acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to



the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I REJOICE that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

THE impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be wel-

come. Satisfied, that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune, often discouraging—in situations, in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration, in every department, may be

stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use, of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

HERE—perhaps—I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them, the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion :

INTERWOVEN as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

THE unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you—It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety, of your



prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pain will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it, as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and

joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

BUT these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

THE *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprize, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted.

THE *East*, in like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it

must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets*, for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

WHILE then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security, from external danger—a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.



THESE considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties, by *geographical* discriminations, *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head:—They have seen in the negotiation by the execu-

tive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with *Spain*, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the *United States*, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi*; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties; that with *Great-Britain* and that with *Spain*, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union, by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your

confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

ALL obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

HOWEVER combinations or associations of the above description, may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning



ning, ambitious and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying, afterwards, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

TOWARDS the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist, with care, the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor, as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws.

and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I HAVE already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of a spirit of party, generally.

THIS spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all governments—more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

THE alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

WITHOUT looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mis-

chiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms ; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

THERE is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose ; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched ; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, least instead of warming it should consume.

IT is important likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional



spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the constitution designates—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly over balance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally, with the pious man,

ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice?—And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

PROMOTE, then as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it: Avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occa-

sions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue;—that to have revenue there must be taxes—that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant—that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties)—ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

OBSERVE good faith and justice towards all nations—cultivate peace and harmony with all—Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no distant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least,



is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas ! is it rendered impossible by its vices ?

IN the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded ; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.—The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation, against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

HENCE frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject ; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils.—

Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

AGAINST the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jea-

lousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

THE great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

EUROPE has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

OUR detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the



period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

TAKING care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

HARMONY, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest.

But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more.— There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial bene-

fit, some occasional good ; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism ; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me ; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

AFTER deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

THE considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary, on this occa-



sion, to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

THE duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

THE inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

THOUGH, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

RELIVING on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, }  
17th September, 1796. }

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## LETTER

*From GENERAL WASHINGTON, to the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, on accepting the Command of the American Army, in 1798.*

Mount-Vernon, July 13, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honor, on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hand of the secretary of war, your favor of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed me "Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of all the armies raised, or to be raised, for the service of the United States."

I CANNOT express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication ; at the same time, I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

You know, sir, what calculation I had made relative to the probable course of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had consulted myself with, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode ; you will, therefore, be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion, that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions.

THE conduct of the Directory of France towards our country ; their insidious hostility to its government ; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it ; the evident tendency of their acts, and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition ; their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations ; their war upon our defenceless commerce ; their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments with those my coun-



trymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you.—Believe me, sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

SATISFIED thereof, that you have sincerely wished and endeavored to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favored the people of these United States.

THINKING in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander in chief of the armies of the United States; with this reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

In making this reservation, I beg it may be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance con-

sidered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public ; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense.

THE secretary of war being anxious to return to the seat of government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication upon the several points he had in charge.

WITH very great respect and consideration, I have the honor to be, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS,

President of the United States.

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BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE  
OF  
GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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BY J. M. WILLIAMS.

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WHEN a man of so much importance, and an object of such general estimation, as the illustrious character under consideration, is removed from the busy theatre of life, a more than ordinary curiosity is excited, to know in what manner he exercised his being, and by what degrees he rose to an elevation so renowned and so glorious.

THE late GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, was born in Virginia, in the parish of Washington, in Westmoreland county, on the 22d day of February, 1732 : his father, Mr. *Augustine Washington*, was the owner of an ample estate, comprehending a large plantation and a farm, in Virginia, and a gentleman of enviable endowments and much respectability. The ancestors of this valued man arrived in that part of America, from the county of York, in Great-Britain, in the year 1657, and established a settlement in King George's county. During the first movement of the revolutionary war, the late General WASHINGTON had three brothers and one sister living, viz. *Samuel*, *John*, and *Charles*, each of whom had estates of consequence—the lady was married to Colonel *Fielding Lewis*.



THE general's father married twice, and our political saviour was the first issue of the second marriage; his education was conducted under the superintendence of his father, who had his boy trained up in those exercises and feats of activity and hardihood, as steeled his young nerves and fitted him for the purposes of an enterprising life: by this judicious proceeding, he was rendered muscular and healthful, and, as the mind is greatly dependent on the body, his intellect became sound, and his apprehension lively. His hours of study were guided by a private tutor, who infused that correct taste for composition, which he has so charmingly exemplified in his correspondence and official papers; and those sentiments of morality, which made his philosophy amiable and his practice noble.

THE prominent course of his tuition involved the theory of the Latin language, the problems of Euclid, and the prosody of his vernacular tongue. His father died when he was a boy, and he fell under the guardianship of his elder brother, Mr *Lawrence Washington*.—When admiral *Vernon* was employed in the reduction of Carthagera, this gentleman accompanied the expedition, and had the command of a company in the colonial troops; at the termination of that exploit, he returned and married the daughter of the Hon. *William Fairfax*, of Bellevoir. He took his lady to the family seat, which he civilly denominated *Mount Vernon*, in remembrance and in honor of the gallant admiral, who had expressed a predilection for the talents and spirit of the young American. This gentleman was created adjutant general of the Virginia militia, and died soon after the appointment. The daughter of this

gentleman, and his second brother, being deceased, General WASHINGTON succeeded to the family patrimony, and sat down as the legitimate lord of an extensive and rich domain.

WHEN no more than fifteen years of age, he was enrolled as a midshipman in the British service, but his destiny had ordered it otherwise; his mother entered her protest against the proceeding, and the idea was abandoned.

BEFORE he was a complete adult, and while under twenty, he obtained the rank of major in a Virginian battalion, the original office of adjutant general, as filled by his deceased brother, being trifected in authority and given to three several districts, as the province had increased in population equal to a justification of the division.

SHORTLY after this military induction, an event happened, which, in its progress, called into action those eminent powers for negotiation and politic address, which have been so conspicuously exerted since, in the defence of his country's immunities, and the arrangement of her full and equal laws.

IN 1753 the French, from the Canadas, suborned some Indian tribes to assist them in plundering the western frontiers, in the neighborhood of the Alleghany and Ohio rivers. The imperial country hearing of the aggression, instructed the governor and council of the Virginia province to repel the invasion by force: they, notwithstanding, believed it as the more prudent step to attempt an explanation with the French and Indians, and thereby pre-

vent the effusion of human blood. It was resolved, on mature deliberation, to depute Major WASHINGTON on this arduous and critical embassy. He conveyed a letter to the commander in chief of the enemy's forces, explanatory of the violation, and made some friendly overtures to the six nations and their allies, to induce them to become attached to the British interest: he began his journey in the earlier part of the winter, accompanied by a few persons, and after traversing immense forests and pathless deserts, he happily arrived at the quarters of *Monfieur de St. Pierre*, to whom he communicated the nature and letter of his mission, and the interview was conducted on his part with so much precaution, temper, and firmness, that it was ultimately successful. His management of the Indians was not less propitious.—For this momentous service, he received the warm approval of lieutenant governor *Dinwiddie* in particular, and his country in general. He kept a diary or journal during this novel progress, which has been since published to the world, and proved entertaining and instructive, but more especially to those who have travelled into those remote parts of the continent. It was in this publication that he first manifested that love of method, force of reasoning, and constancy to a resolution comprehensively founded, which have since so characterised him in arranging the elements of order, and establishing the liberties of his nation.

ALTHOUGH Major WASHINGTON had perfected the object of his embassy, so far as a written stipulation could bind, it was soon discovered that the enemy was not faithful to his word and bond of honor, as the warlike movements on the western



frontier plainly evinced. In this distressing time, an order arrived from Britain to embody the troops of the colonies for their common defence : the state of Virginia was the first in obedience to this command, and in the year 1754, raised an appropriate sum of money and a regiment of 400 men, to assemble on the frontiers of their colony. Mr. Fry, a professor in the college of William and Mary, had the command of this corps, and Major WASHINGTON, at the age of twenty three, was nominated Lieutenant Colonel. The commander dying before the regiment was perfected, his rank and power devolved on the subject of this memoir.

COLONEL WASHINGTON thus invested, redoubled his diligence in exercising his men, fixing magazines, and opening roads : it was his hope to have established a military post at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, a measure of precaution which he had warmly recommended to the council the preceding year. To this important spot (now called Pittsburg) he directed his march in May, without waiting for reinforcements, either regular or provincial, so great was his eagerness to fortify that station.

In his progress he encountered a considerable party of French and Indians, at a place called Redstone : he instantly charged and routed them, making prisoners and destroying fifty ; among the captives was Monsieur *De La Force*, and two other officers. Colonel WASHINGTON then understood the perils of his situation, as these gentlemen informed him that the French had 1000 regular troops on the Ohio and a numerous party of savages ; and

what was more immediately distressing, that they had pre-occupied the post at the confluence of the rivers, and had named it fort *Duquesne*.

In this dilemma, he took his stand at a spot called Great Meadows, to procure forage, and erected a stockade for his stores, which he called *Fort Necessity*. He waited the arrival of succours from the neighboring colonies, but was only strengthened by Captain *Mackay's* regulars, which made his force, in the aggregate, but 400 efficient men. The enemy lay dormant until July, when he understood that a strong reconnoitring party was approaching rapidly: he was prompt in his decision on the aspect of danger; he sallied out with his little army and defeated his foe; but this vigorous effort for his security was ineffectual, as shortly after, a large detachment of French and Indians, to the amount of 1500 men, under the command of the *Sieur de Villiers*, attacked him in his temporary fortification; the assailed made a firm resistance, and killed 200 of the enemy, but lost, in killed or wounded, many of their gallant comrades. This determined opposition so discomfited the French leader, that a parly was offered on his part and accepted, and an honorable capitulation was the consequence. The diminutive garrison marched out, with the honors of war, and their commander at their head, with baggage and military stores: the provincial soldiers were plundered and massacred, during their retreat, by the savages; after this discomfiture, the skeleton of the Virginian regiment returned to Alexandria, to re-fill their ranks and repose after their disasters.

WHEN the British ambassador remonstrated at the

court of Versailles, on the infraction of the articles of capitulation, it was perceived that the French officers in America had acted agreeably to their instructions; the real views of the christian king, in respect to the colonies in America, then under British subjugation, were now developed; and after this disclosure, the French became more active in their hostile preparations, which were pursued without remission through the winter of 1754, and the spring of 1755.

THE government of Virginia did not remain regardless of the machinations and aggressions of the French. They erected forts Cumberland and Loudon, and ordered a camp at Wills Creek, from which situation they could harass their enemies on the Ohio. In the furtherance of these designs, Colonel WASHINGTON was highly useful, and his services were acknowledged in terms of respect and approval.

It was at this period when the ill fated General *Braddock* arrived in America from Britain: he landed at Alexandria, with two old regiments from Ireland, and to these were to be united the different corps in America, including the independent and provincial bodies; at the head of this combined force he was to crush the bold and cruel invaders of our frontiers. On this occasion the evils of etiquette were permitted to annul the recommendations of virtue; a royal definition of rank had prevailed, which ridiculously signified, that no officer who had not derived his commission *immediately* from his majesty, could command one who had been blessed with that honor. When this distinction was un-



derstood, Colonel WASHINGTON resigned his commission, but he did not suffer his disgust, arising from the forms and fopperies of a court, to supersede the regards he bore towards his country: he entered the army as a volunteer, and condescended to serve as an extra aid de camp to General *Braddock*. The army marched by Wills Creek for fort Duquesne, and in this route Colonel WASHINGTON's counsel would have proved the salvation of the army, had it been duly taken and followed; as no person, in the colony, was so thoroughly acquainted with the advantages and disadvantages connected with the various stations in this march, as himself; but on this event, as in others, the presumption or arrogance involved the destruction of its own agency. General *Braddock* disdained to be instructed by a provincial officer, and he perished in his folly: in the course of the march he met, unexpectedly and without adequate preparation, a large body of the foe, when a bloody conflict instantly ensued, which ended in the defeat of *Braddock's* army, which consisted of 2000 regulars and 800 provincials: the slaughter of the British troops was great, and their extermination would have occurred, had not the intrepid and discreet WASHINGTON, aided by his colonial adherents, covered their retreat, which they effected in the utmost confusion and dismay; when Col. WASHINGTON had conducted them safely over the ford of the Monongahela, and the enemy ceasing to pursue their career, he thought it expedient to consult with Col. *Dunbar*, who was left in the rear with the second division of the army and the baggage: in pursuance of this idea, he was constrained to travel all night, on horseback, through a gloomy and untrodden forest, and was so exhaust-

ed on his arrival, by such a variety of fatigue, that he was supported by pillows. It may not be unnecessary to remark that he was the only officer, who was mounted during the battle, that was not killed or wounded. The European accounts of this memorable and calamitous affair, were not un-mixed with abundant praises on his skill, his perseverance and gallantry.

SHORTLY after this overthrow, the arrangement of rank, so injuriously unpleasant to the colonial officers, was altered, and the government of Virginia, bestowed on Colonel WASHINGTON, the command of all the troops raised, and to be raised, in the colony: he maintained this commission with honor, until 1759, when the restoration of tranquillity on the frontiers took place, and he resigned his command: he was additionally induced to this resignation, by the personal inconveniences of a pulmonary disease, the probable enfeebling effect of a life of thought, hazard, toil and inconvenience. The officers and private soldiers, which formed the Virginia line, would not permit their beloved commander to retire without following him to his retreat, with an unanimous testimonial of their veneration of his character, and their regret at his resolution: he received this token of their unaffected regard, with manly tenderness, and even increased their love towards him, by proving himself so uniformly worthy of its fullness.

HE had not receded long from the bustle and horrors of a campaign, and the customs of a soldier's duty, before his health was happily increased: it was at this epoch that he married Mrs. *Martha*

*Custis*, a young and beautiful widow, "with whom he had a fortune of twenty thousand pounds sterling in her own right, besides her dower in one of the principal estates in Virginia;" on the consummation of this union, Colonel WASHINGTON and his lady, equal in years, suavity, and virtue, settled at Mount Vernon.

IN this scene of domestic felicity, he commenced planter and farmer, and managed his agricultural concerns so discreetly and prosperously, that he has been held forth as an example deserving universal imitation.—Colonel WASHINGTON was one of the greatest landholders in North America: his estate at Mount Vernon was computed, in 1787, to consist of nine thousand acres, under his own management and cultivation; he had likewise various large tracts of land in other parts of the state; his annual receipt from his estates, amounted, in 1776, to *four thousand pounds sterling*, and it was then believed would have sold for upwards of *one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling*, which is equal to more than 666,000 dollars. What his revenue was recently, we do not know, but there can be little presumption in supposing that it was much increased, under his prudential guidance and practical economy.

HE allotted a part of the Saturday, in each week, to receive the reports of his overseers, which were registered progressively, to enable him to compare the labor with the produce of each particular part; and, it is affirmed, that this weekly retrospect, was duly considered by this great man, during the stormy movements of the revolutionary war, and



his presidency of the United States.—He has raised, in one year, seven thousand bushels of wheat, and ten thousand bushels of Indian corn, on his Mount Vernon estate : in a succeeding year he raised two hundred lambs, sowed twenty seven bushels of flax seed, and planted seven hundred bushels of potatoes; at the same time his domestics manufactured linen and woollen cloth enough for his numerous household, which amounted to nearly a thousand persons : with him, regularity and industry was the order of each day, and the consequent reflection made them all happy.

THOUGH agriculture was pursued by him with such undeviating attention, he used it rather as the means of his pleasure than the end of his wishes, which concentrated in the labor to improve the well being of his fellow citizens, and to effect this he desisted from planting tobacco, to employ himself in the introduction and fostering such articles of vegetation, as might ultimately tend to a national advantage.—The first passion of his heart was the love of his country, and the tone of that high and inspiring impulse was never broken : it was equally visible and predominant in the senate and the field ; it was mingled in the energies of his occupation, and it pervaded the vision in his dream.

THE excellence and usefulness of General WASHINGTON, was always apparent, and his seeming more brilliant and dignified at one period than another, did not arise from any alteration of his principle, but the splendor of the service. From the year 1759, to the year 1774, he was a member of assembly, a magistrate of the county in which he

resided, and a judge of the court, and in each capacity he was as able, as assiduous, and as incorrupt, as in any of his more exalted offices. He was elected a delegate to the first Congress in 1774, and to that which associated in the ensuing year.

ON the 15th of June, 1775, he had the supreme honor to be unanimously appointed, by this immortal assembly of sages and patriots, commander in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the resistance of oppression and the maintenance of their colonial privileges. He accepted the appointment with gratitude and apprehension; the manner with which he tinged his zeal for the public good, with doubts of his own personal sufficiency, was illustrative of human greatness: the disinterested tenor of his reply to the president on his nomination, was equally endearing as his modesty, and should be held in eternal admiration.

It was a circumstance very fortunate for the existence of human liberty, that this nomination, by the council of the states, should be unattended with the customary emotions of personal envy, and commonly approved by the people: he had become proverbial for his honor, moderation and bravery, and was conspicuous for his caution: and with these powerful recommendations in his behalf, he was not only invested with confidence, but followed with joy.

GENERAL WASHINGTON arrived at the camp at Cambridge, on July 2d, 1775, and took the command of the American army: he was saluted on his arrival with every mark of satisfaction; the

troops expressed their exultation on beholding their leader, who began the necessary work of organization and discipline; without which, an army degenerates into a mob, and is rather an incumbrance than a bulwark.

It is not precisely within our province, nor is it in our capability to pursue him through the mazes of the different actions in which he was engaged, nor to detail those "hair breadth 'scapes" with which his progress was chequered; there were times when the destruction of his band of heroes seemed inevitable, and the most sanguine lover of his country began to despond—but the singular penetration of General WASHINGTON enabled him to elude the imminent dangers, and disconcert the operations of the ablest generals of Britain: yet, notwithstanding these instances of preservation, he felt much uneasiness and mortification from the smallness of his force, contending against a host of veterans, perfect in discipline and high in spirit. Perhaps few troops have contended with a longer series of disasters, than those disciples of liberty, in their struggle to uphold the primary immunities of man.

Two base and treacherous attempts were discovered, about this time; one was directed against the life of General WASHINGTON, and the other against his reputation: Governor Tryon had suborned the then mayor of New-York, to assist the royal forces on their arrival in that city, and General WASHINGTON was to be assassinated: this detestable design was rendered abortive by apprehending *Thomas Hickey*, one of General WASHINGTON's life guard men, who was engaged in the



conspiracy, and had engaged others; this false miscreant was tried by a court martial on the 28th of June, found guilty, and was executed at eleven o'clock the same day, amidst the curses of the American army. The other malignant proceeding originated with an officer of high rank, who was so mean as to envy the superiority of another, and so vindictive as to circulate calumny for his overthrow: but this endeavor was soon frustrated, and the author became contemptible: it should be noted that this was the only occasion, on which the ability and integrity of General WASHINGTON was ever questioned, but it proved as weak in its consequences, as it was wicked in contemplation.

FROM the first action which he commanded in this dreadful contest, when he compelled the British troops to evacuate Boston, by a victory unstained with blood, to the august termination of the struggle in 1783, he was always the same philosophic hero; he was an uncommon man, fitted for uncommon difficulties, and, happily for the interests of the new world, it was so ordered by providence; that his mighty trials, were but "squared to his proportionate strength," his intelligence corresponded with his intrepidity, and he was graced with both *Minervas*: the alacrity of his mind felt no decay from disappointment: the resources of his capacity were commensurate to the perils as they arose. he regarded the caprices of fortune with steadiness, and knowing that his cause was just, he relied, with firmness, on his dauntless followers and the will of Heaven.

IN 1783 a general peace was negotiated and concluded in Europe, and then the proud hour arrived, when this great man had finished all the labors of his military life; he entered New-York in triumph, amidst the acclamations of a liberated people: he was not decorated with the *fascies* or *insignia* of a Roman warrior, nor did he drag the representatives of a plundered province at his chariot wheels, in bondage and in chains: his dignity and solacement were derived from a purer source; he brought the assurance of manumission to a suffering world, and bade them prepare a charter for the security of their rescued privileges.

He resigned his commission, as commander in chief, to Congress, which he had used with such wonderful advantage to his country, but without ostentation or any accompaniment of vanity; and returned, with gladness, to the bosom of his family at Mount Vernon. As he passed through the intermediate towns and villages, all ages and degrees poured forth, to welcome, with the tenderest congratulations, the deliverer of his country: they offered up their artless supplications, to the throne of mercy, to bless and preserve their common benefactor, and those unadulterated tokens of regard must have made a deep and felicitous impression on a heart such as he possessed.

REPEATED offers of compensation were now made him, by the various states, for his manifold services, but he declined them all, and even those which might only liquidate the additional expenses he had incurred in the public cause: his enlarged mind felt superior to such considerations; he was

satisfied with having run a race of glory, and drew his richest rewards from his own sensations: his desires were bounded by honor; he had all the self denial and magnanimity so attributable to *Scipio*, but the point of his heroism had a more philanthropic direction,

FROM the peace of 1783 to 1787, he passed his time in a rotation of civil and social duties, arranging and methodizing his domestic concerns; maintaining an extensive correspondence with eminent personages at home and abroad; perusing works of science; examining experiments in arts, and the amazing phenomena of nature, and receiving the visits and homage of illustrious foreigners and natives; who were incessantly crowding to Mount Vernon, to salute its benignant owner.

IN 1787 he was called to a seat in that convention, which sat in Philadelphia, to assist in the stupendous and difficult task of making a new constitution for the United States; and of that venerable assemblage, that constellation of sages, he was chosen president; when the several articles of this inestimable obligation were digested and matured, it was issued for the observance of his happy countrymen, and the admiration of the universe: its provisions had been duly weighed and ameliorated, by his inquisitive and comprehensive understanding, and it received a prompt currency under the influence of his name.

IT is a simple, beautiful structure, made up with skill from liberal grants and concessions, and as perfect in its component parts as such an instrument



of legation can be, which professes to combine social security with individual liberty: we do not insist so unequivocally upon the strength of this compact, as that is materially dependent upon the wisdom and morality of those it is calculated to govern: man, as a species, is more liable to the impressions of delusion than of truth; and, notwithstanding he is rational, must be guarded and limited in his agency, lest the indulgence of his own inordinate desires should be detrimental to the happiness of all.

WERE it possible to persuade mankind, what is their chief interest here to know, that to assist the good endeavors, and to sympathize with the weaknesses and necessities of each other, yields an enjoyment far superior to any of a mere selfish nature, there would be little occasion, in a moral view, to threaten the infliction either of temporal or eternal punishment. Indeed it seems almost sufficiently just, if there be any totally destitute of humanity, that such, from their dulness or malignity, are deprived of the most exquisite and exalted felicity.

ON the 30th of April, 1789, he was invested as president of the United States, in New-York, and his investiture was hailed and accompanied by the unfeigned rapture of his fellow citizens. He then entered upon one of the most solemn offices that man can possibly assume: to administer a government of novel elements: to organize the high republican departments of state, and give to each its due nerve, ramification, and civic dependencies: to make the effect as parallel as possible with popular expectation, yet to ward against any irrational infringe-

ment so far, as that the whole might be ultimately practicable and durable : but the national confidence attended his exertions, and that confidence was well reposed, as he began his supreme delegation with principles of virtue. The pleasures of virtue, are, first, the immediate satisfaction we enjoy in contributing to the advantage of others ; virtue in this case being its own best reward ; not that it bestows because it receives, but that it receives because it is disposed to bestow, as a luminous body is yet more enlightened by the reflection of its own splendor.

To declare that he administered the obligations of his great office with propriety, would be but a feeble acknowledgement : he stepped forward with modest hesitation, in obedience to the public voice, to give order, and harmony, and force, to the chaotic and untried principles of a new scheme of rule, and he accomplished all that a human being could ; he defined the extent of the common charter of his nation ; and, in the hazardous performance of the contract, he laid the foundation of such a pure and liberal system of ethical policy, as no confederation of people had heretofore known ; he knew what portion of liberty perturbed man could bear, and he was solicitous that he should have as much as he was fitted to enjoy.

In the decline of the same year, in which he had consented to bear the incumbent weight of the young republic, he visited the eastern states, and was saluted by all classes of the inhabitants, with fervor, love, and duty. The congratulations he experienced, were such as monarchs might envy :

the respect he met was of that unsophisticated nature, in which the soul makes its offering with the body—every municipal and religious community addressed him on his arrival; and, in his answers to these affectionate memorials of public esteem, he had the wisdom to disseminate such documents, as might operate to an obedience of the laws, and to uphold morality; knowing, that we can have no practice of goodness, or calmness of mind, but what is connected with moral beauty.

WHEN the presidential term had expired, he indicated a resolution to return once more to the shades of domestic retirement, as the infirmities of age had rendered him less vigorous; he had even pondered upon his farewell address, and was preparing for a final secession from the affairs of state, when his apprehensive countrymen, united to implore him to desist from such an abandonment of office: their interposition superceded his own will, and he was inducted in the chief magistracy, a second time, to the manifest satisfaction of all honest men in America!

THE good sense and probity of a people, was never more conspicuous, than in this cautious proceeding; as it is not altogether problematical, but the very existence of the commonwealth depended upon this timely adoption: the moral and political world were then trembling with the effect of a convulsion, which threatened, in its progress, to overthrow the institutes of subordination, and rebarbarize mankind: and the imposing speciousness of the innovation constituted its evil—an extraordinary and vast revolution took place in France, at once de-



lighting, amazing, and affrighting the universe: this was an event of such portentous magnitude and dreadful splendor, as made the members of the old establishments shudder, lest the finger of reform should expose their hideousness, and crumble the feudal fabrics of antiquity into dust; as they had become too rotten to be touched, even by the talisman of virtue. They saw the regal diadem abused, and the monastic authorities totter; the monk and the courtier cashiered, and all the gothic privileges of pride vanish and dissolve in air: the patrician began to doubt his pre-eminence, and slavery hurled the chain at his oppressor: a new code of slipshod morals was obtruded upon credulity, and the young calendar of the hour took the vizard from the seasons: the solemnity of the altar was invaded by a civic dance, and the laws of matrimony were obliterated by the voluptuaries of *Epicurus*: they encumbered a figure with tawdry habiliments that they called *reason*, and made her violate the law and the prophets: this limitless enfranchisement of the passions, made the thoughtless frantic, and the thinking weep: as the causes which produced this issue were lost in time, so the consequences of its influence were beyond the reach of calculation: when the first sensations of monarchical consternation had subsided, an expanded and decided system of counteraction was put in force, and a war commenced, with a peculiar feature of horror; not for the recovery of a province, or to assert the dignity of an insulted empire, but for the overthrow of prejudice and the extermination of principle.

THE progress of these commotions, had an obvious tendency to agitate the people of the United

States, many of whom were transported with zeal, at the supposed liberation of so many millions of their fellow creatures: liberty feasts were held in the large towns, and such inflammatory measures pursued as were inconsistent with the pacific views of the government: many insidious arts were used to involve the country in a war with Great Britain; and the French faction, directing the current of the lunacy, were incessant in their intrigues, when General WASHINGTON published his declaration of neutrality and saved the nation.

THIS act of salvation was the result of mature thought; the crisis, in which he resolved on the proclamation, was pregnant with infinite calamity; he risked the durability of his hard and well earned reputation, by thus firmly opposing the indiscreet spirit of the time, but he saw the direct relation of the folly, and its ultimate mischief: both houses of Congress ratified the deed, and he pursued his exalted functions with stability, circumspection, delicacy, and honor. His conduct, during this perilous conjuncture, was, perhaps, the greatest proof of his sagacity and magnanimity, that occurred in the history of his brilliant life: the love he bore his country subdued all minor considerations; he had the greatness to be just and kind towards those, who seemed eager to be destroyed in the gratification of an indigested desire: by this determined step he paralyzed the arm of sedition, but it had the unavoidable effect of partially jarring the chords of public harmony: yet the bond of amity between the president and the people was un sullied: the inquietude was diminished, in proportion as the measure was understood, and although dissension ever

did, and ever will, happen in the best regulated governments, the prevailing part of a nation constantly veer towards the points of reciprocal justice.

As the discontents, arising from this great effort of policy, have not wholly subsided, it may not be improper to suppose the motives which actuated the supreme magistrate: he saw that the conservation of the civil order was endangered by this illegitimate novelty, which undermined the base of mutual protection and personal comfort; he knew that the national character of his countrymen was forming, and he was unwilling that any of their habits should be derived from Gallic deformity: he gathered but little felicity from the *Decades* and misbegotten mummeries of the French Directory, being assured that they were inroads incompatible with the dignity and permanent good of human nature: their abolition of the sabbath, with its annexed piety and consolation, and corrective ordinances, was not, with him, an event of consummate glory: he believed and felt that an observance of its balmy duties allured us to resignation in the sweetest way, and that our delights were even unauthorized without gratitude—to those dark spirits, whose faith is bounded by their senses, we shall commit the illustration of the advantages of an eternal oblivion.

THE embarrassments arising from this evil, were not all the inconveniencies he had to contend with, at this era; an Indian war broke forth, which, in its first effects, caused some consternation, but, by the adroitness, skill, and intrepidity of General *Wayne*, soon terminated in favor of his arms: a



ratification of peace was then concluded between the United States and the savages, and the president, in his comprehensive administration, had the beneficence to make the comfort of a prostrate foe, a leading consideration.

IN the month of September, 1796, the time had revolved when a new election was to occur, of an appropriate person to fill the presidential seat: and while the public hope was indulged, that General WASHINGTON would accept it, for a third time; he signified his unalterable resolution of receding from the toils of state, in an affectionate and wise ADDRESS to the nation; the letter and spirit of which, we fervently pray, may be understood and practised, from this period, to ages yet unborn.

HE resigned the mantle of authority with confidence to his successor, after dedicating *forty-five years* of his resplendent life, to the advantage of his country: it cannot surprise, that his renunciation of power should create dejection in his fellow citizens, whose impulse to action was virtue, and whose pursuit was justice: he consented to assume power for the benefit of mankind, and not for his own gratification: power is no estimable quality by itself; it is the power of doing good alone, that is desirable to the wise.

"ON General WASHINGTON's birth day, the city of Philadelphia was unusually gay; every person of consequence in it, Quakers excepted, made it a point to visit the General on this day. As early as eleven o'clock in the morning he was prepared to receive them, and the audience lasted till

three in the afternoon. The society of the Cincinnati, the clergy, the officers of the militia, and several others who formed a distinct body of citizens came by themselves separately. The foreign ministers attended in their richest dresses and most splendid equipages. Two large parlours were open for the reception of the gentlemen, the windows of one of which towards the street were crowded with spectators on the outside. The sideboard was furnished with cake and wines, whereof the visitors partook. I never observed so much cheerfulness before in the countenance of General WASHINGTON; but it was impossible for him to remain insensible to the attention and the compliments paid to him on this occasion.

“THE ladies of the city, equally attentive, paid their respects to Mrs. Washington, who received them in the drawing room up stairs. After having visited the General, most of the gentlemen also waited upon her. A public ball and supper terminated the rejoicing of the day. Not one town of any importance was there in the whole union, where some meeting did not take place in honor of this day.

“GENERAL WASHINGTON gives no public dinners or other entertainments, except to those who are in diplomatic capacities, and to a few families on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Washington. Strangers with whom he wishes to have some conversation about agriculture or any such subject are sometimes invited to tea. This, by many, is attributed to his saving disposition; but it is more just to ascribe it to his prudence and foresight, for as the

salary of the president is very small, and totally inadequate by itself to support an expensive style of life, were he to give numerous and splendid entertainments, the same might possibly be expected from subsequent presidents, who, if their private fortunes were not considerable, would be unable to live in the same style, and might be exposed to many ill natured observations, from the relinquishment of what the people had been accustomed to; it is most likely also that General WASHINGTON has been actuated by these motives because, in his private capacity at Mount Vernon every stranger meets with a hospitable reception from him."

*WELD's Travels.*

His conduct in his executive capacity, was dignified, yet condescending; and merciful, yet resolute: he felt for the infirmities of humanity, and took an especial precaution, that while he guarded against the establishment or continuance of an evil, to make adequate allowance for the weaknesses of our nature: he knew that the benign purposes of every punishment of civil institution, should be rendered as obvious as possible, lest cruelty be inculcated by example.

FROM March, 1797, to July, 1798, he remained tranquilly embosomed at Mount Vernon, in the performance of the amiable but restricted duties of private life; personifying, in his own character, what that citizen out to be, who had the happy destination of living under the most free and clement government on earth: while he was thus peacefully and radiantly declining to the tomb, he was again supplicated to assist his country; she had been in-



sulted and aggrieved ; he felt implicated as an American, in the national honor, and accepted the condition of the prayer.—The manifestation of this patriotic acceptance, was the last official action of this venerable man.

ON the 14th day of December, 1799, he departed from this life, at his seat, at Mount Vernon, in the sixty-eighth year of his age ; after having reaped an harvest of glory, commensurate with all that can be effected by mortal greatness.

HE was as much a proficient in the arts of persuasion as any, for his influence on his countrymen was unlimited ; and this influence was among the greatest triumphs of virtue. The institutions of *Quintilian*, or the orations of *Thucydides* or *Sallust*, exhibit no rule of eloquence more charming, or more perfect than what he providentially exemplified, when he exhorted a part of the continental army, on the 15th of March, 1783, to resist the diabolical exertions of some seditious emissaries, who were laboring to estrange them from the common good : no system of science could have furnished an appeal more effectual, nor could any man have so restrained the passions of an armed multitude, but him, whose wisdom, bravery, and integrity were concomitant with each other.

THE disinterestedness of his mind was as alluring as it was noble, and he used every opportunity to promote the establishments for learning : he acted from high and benevolent motives, and he required no dearer recompence than what his feelings could afford ; yet what can be more pleasing than self

applause, when it is confirmed by the approbation of the good? the ambitious place their chief happiness in fame, the avaricious in fortune, equally blind to the blessings that should follow. To employ every gentle method, therefore, to extend the principle of human sympathy: to improve our finer feelings, and give to the soul a more tender touch of all that is endearing to humanity, by exercising it in the speculation and practice of the virtues, is the most godlike occupation, and the great purpose of moral precept and sound philosophy.

GENERAL WASHINGTON was in his person about six feet in height, his eyes were grey, but full of animation: his visage was serene, and the temper of his thoughtful mind did not seem disposed to the frequent indulgence of mirth; his limbs were well proportioned and muscular, and his deportment carried an air of majesty and solemnity in it, that was altogether awful to folly: though no man did more for the interests of human nature in general, yet few men have unbosomed themselves with more circumspection than he did, to any particular individual; but this habit of reserve has been the characteristic of the wisest persons that ever lived, when possessed of similar authority—it has been asserted that he was never seen to smile, during the revolutionary war: in the more unrestrained moments of private intercourse, he expressed himself with perspicuity and diffidence, but seldom used more words than were necessary for the elucidation of his opinion: the lineaments of his face implied that he was an older man than he really was; but the weight of care, that must necessarily have pressed upon the reflection of a man, engaged in such a

continuity of vast enterprize and deep responsibility, could not fail to antedate in some degree, the works of time.

THE graces of General WASHINGTON's person, were not unfrequently instrumental in the promotion of his views; the advantages resulting from natural grace, in polished and even savage life, are wonderfully convictive; and this effect will not be amazing, when it is known, that the most penetrating analyzers of man, and his attributes, have determined that all action is graceful, in proportion as the impulses are innocent: nothing that is vicious or abominable can be charming: nor does it breathe or exist in any emotions arising from vanity or folly: grace is the sublimity of beauty: it is a quality analagous to the most exquisite tenderness of affection; that modest, yet gay illustration of action, which accompanies pure love: gracefulness is an expression of dignified pleasure; but that high order of pleasure is not ease, it is something more.

As a didactic writer, he can scarcely be esteemed too much; his sentiments have a force and fascination to restore reason, invigorate patriotism, and awaken piety: his public letters and documents should be engraved upon the tablet of the nation, as examples of profound sagacity, genuine integrity, and unaffected humility: they should be eternally regarded, in a political interpretation, as "eyes to the blind": his simplicity of style proves him to have been guided by a fine taste; when a writer is verbose or glittering, his argument is weakened, and none but the unwise can admire him.



IT was the peculiar honor of General WASHINGTON, not only to deserve, but to enjoy the approbation of all men of probity in either hemisphere; those persons who had been his opponents in Britain, from an attachment to their sovereign and the prevailing councils of the hour, became his friends at the conclusion of a peace, from contemplating the moderation of his deportment, and the moral energies of his mind; and some of the more distinguished, considered it as a reflected merit, to be in the habits of correspondence and the interchange of civilities, with such an embellished and admirable personage.

He had the urbanity of a gentleman, without the littleness of pride; and in the very plenitude of his authority, would sheathe a denial so kindly, that the sting of disappointment was absorbed in the beauty of the declaration: he embraced the delegation to rule, as a great man should; not to indulge the luxury of the senses, or the insatiate aims of ambition, but for the blessed purpose of disseminating love and protection to all: he stood as a preeminent supporter in society; like a Tuscan column, with sober magnificence; plain, strong, attractive and erect: with Atlantean properties, equal to more than the weight he had sustained: at once the vital principle and the ornament of that constitution he had sanctioned, and his fame will be coeternal with the existence of freedom.

WE have never contemplated the character of a magistrate more inflexible to wrong, nor of a man so active and so spotless, in any record, either ancient or modern; he did more for imitation, and

less for repentance, than any contemporary: had he derived his ideas of legislation and forbearance from the statutes of the golden age, he could not have done more to enforce innocency and mutual truth; and he confessedly lived to make mankind better, if it is in the virtue of an individual to correct our frailty.

HAVING followed this august statesman to the sepulchre, it now devolves upon the grateful and the provident of his countrymen, to hang it round with symbols of regard, and inscribe it with the texts of his policy: let them inform a future age, that he shunned no public question, nor omitted any duty; in the cherishing hope, that other men may copy the impressivè example: and the insinuation of hope makes our delusion our joy; but, in simplicity, yet force, of language; in clearness of understanding and depth of judgment: in his disdain of any commutation with falsehood: in his contempt of trivial expedients, and his ability to make that spirit governing: in his appropriation of direct remedies for national evils, and in his majesty of character altogether, we have seriously to apprehend that he will be never equalled; he had all the decision of *Cato*, without his coarseness—he had raised himself, by progressive excellence, above the tooth of envy, and the desperation of malice: and was not assailable by any mortal hand:

————— *Nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,  
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.*

OVID, METAM. lib. 15.

HE is now removed from terrestrial vicissitudes and the incorrigibility of folly forever; and is saint-

ed in Heaven, if it is in the piety of a people to canonize their benefactor: he was a rare luminary, as mild as he was effulgent, and, we trust, that the influence of his bright example will be coeval with our nation: he approached as nearly to the divine essence, as any thing human can. Let those (if such there are) who, from depravity of intellect, or imbecility of mind, may think of General WASHINGTON with irreverence, reflect maturely upon what America might have been, had not such a preserver been among us. When the varied duties of legislation lay before him, he recommended those articles for congressional adoption, which were most analogous to our habits, and best suited for our prosperity: liberty is less endangered here, than in any other country, as there is more general intelligence in the community: those overheated zealots, who may believe that he did not do enough, are but imperfectly acquainted with the assimilation of principle and practice: we can fondly transfer a theory from our fancy to our expectation, that would be ephemeral in execution: the doctrines which are fulminated by enthusiasm, must be tried by experience and mellowed by wisdom, before the statute can be properly operative: those laws sustain public virtue the longest, which are reconcileable to moderation and the floating usages of civil life: this is not an epoch of romance, and all utopian follies should be exploded: we may demand much for common comfort, but we must yield something to ensure its continuation.



[IT was originally intended, by the compilers of this work, to have omitted the celebrated anonymous letter, written by an officer of the American army, encamped near New Windsor, in March, 1783;—but they have been induced to insert it as a necessary preface to the inimitable answer of the commander in chief; who, it has been suggested by some friends of high political reputation, had never, on any occasion, discovered a superior promptitude of talent, and dexterity of address, than in suppressing the deep laid mischief of this ingenious incendiary, whose insidious eloquence had almost inflamed to revolt the then untainted purity of American valor.

[IT may be proper, before we give this artful letter, to state further, that a memorial was presented to Congress, in Dec. 1782, in behalf of the army, by three commissioners, consisting of Maj. Gen. *M<sup>r</sup> Dougall*, and two field officers, in which their wishes were thus expressed: “1. present pay.—2. a settlement of the arrearages of pay, and security for what is due.—3 a commutation of the half pay allowed by different resolutions of Congress for an equivalent in gross.—4. a settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations and compensations.—5. a settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of cloathing and compensation.” In April following, the army was informed, by their commissioners, that Congress had “decided on nothing of moment for them.” Upon this a meeting of the general and field officers was called at the public building, for the express purpose of considering “what further measures (if any) should be adopted to obtain redress.” This anonymous summons was accompanied with the letter in question.]

### TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

GENTLEMEN,

**A** FELLOW SOLDIER, whose interest and affections bind him strongly to you; whose past sufferings has been as great, and whose future fortunes may be as desperate as yours, would beg leave to address you.

AGE has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise ; but though unsupported by both, he flatters himself, that the plain language of sincerity and experience, will neither be unheard nor unregarded.

LIKE many of you, he loved private life, and left it with regret. He left it, determined to retire from the field, with the necessity that called him to it, and not till then—not till the enemies of his country, the slaves of power, and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America as terrible in arms as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils, and mingled in your dangers. He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur, and has seen the growing insolence of wealth without a sigh—But, too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to take desire for opinion, he has, till lately, very lately, believed in the justice of his country. He hoped, that as the clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in upon us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that more than justice, that gratitude, would blaze forth upon those hands, which had upheld her in the darkest stages of her passage, from impending servitude to acknowledged independence—But faith has its limits, as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched, without sinking into cowardice, or plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation. Hurred to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you forever. To be tame and unprovoked

when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness ; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character and shew the world how richly you deserve those chains you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a view of the ground upon which we now stand, and thence carry our thoughts forward, for a moment, into the unexplored field of expedient.

AFTER a pursuit of seven years, the object for which you set out is at length brought within your reach. Yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once ; it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and bloody war. It has placed her in the chair of independency, and peace returns again to bless——whom ? A country courting your return to private life, with tears of gratitude, and smiles of admiration——longing to divide with you that independency which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved ? Is this the case ? or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses ? have you not, more than once, suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to Congress ? wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated, rather than evaded——And have you not lately, in the meek language of intreating memorials, begged from their justice what you could no longer expect from their favor ? how have you been answered ? let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow make the reply.



IF this then be your treatment, while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division? when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinctions be left, but your wants, infirmities, and scars? can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? can you consent to wade through the vileness of dependency, and owe the miserable remains of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor!—if you can—go—and carry with you the jest of Tories, and the scorn of Whigs; the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten! but if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit sufficient to oppose tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of Republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause; between men and principles—awake—attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now.

I WOULD advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion, upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of government. Change the milk and water style of your memorials; assume

a bolder tone ; decent, but lively, spirited, and determined ; and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation, or longer forbearance. Let two or three men who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your late remonstrance ; for I would no longer give it the soothing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of memorial.—Let it represent, in language that will neither dishonor you by its rudeness, nor betray you by its fears, what has been promised by Congress, and what has been performed ; how long and how patiently you have suffered—how little you have asked ; and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them that, though you were the first, and would wish to be the last to encounter danger ; that though despair itself can never drive you into dishonor, it may drive you from the field ; that the wound often irritated, and never healed, may at length become incurable—and that the slightest mark of indignity from Congress now, must operate like the grave, and part you forever—that in any political event, the army has its alternative—If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death—If war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the direction of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some yet unsettled country, smile in your turn, and “ mock when their fear cometh on.” But let it represent also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorials, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable.—That while the war should continue, you would follow their standard to the field ; and that when it came to an end, you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of

wonder and applause ;—an *army victorious over its enemies—victorious over itself.*

[IMMEDIATELY on the circulation of the foregoing address, the commander in chief issued an official order, convening the general and field officers at the new building, to hear the report of the commissioners from the army to Congress, and to devise what further measures ought to be adopted, as the most rational, and best calculated to attain the just and important object in view. In this meeting, which was fully attended by the general and field officers, by one officer from each company, and by a suitable representation of the staff—the commander in chief thus addressed the army :]

GENTLEMEN,

**B**Y an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army judge !

In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was put into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen ; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart ; for, as men see through difficulties, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the piece should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion, the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance, or, in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candor and



liberality of sentiment, regard to justice, and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicions to effect the blackest designs. That the address is drawn with great art; that it is intended to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is intended to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice to the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the first mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed with the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind which is necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding.

Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the hasty, irregular meeting which was proposed to be held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honor, and the dignity of the army to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore, has not evinced to you, that I have been a faithful friend to the array, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country, as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel

and acknowledge your merits ; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army, and my heart has ever expanded with joy, when I heard its praises, and my indignation has risen, when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it, it can scarcely be supposed at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? the way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. "If war continues, remove into the unsettled country, there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself." But whom are they to defend? our wives, our children, and our farms; and other property which we have left behind us? or in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness? If peace takes place, "never sheathe your swords," says he, "until you have obtained full and ample justice." This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? can he be a friend to the army? can he be a friend to the country? rather is he not an insidious foe? some emissary, perhaps, from New-York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? and what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, im-

practicable in their nature? but here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception, to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either project into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production; but the manner in which this performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations upon the tendency of that writing.

WITH respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderation and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man who regards that liberty and reveres the justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot in justice to my own belief, and which I have great reason to believe is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honorable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and from full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice: that their endeavors to discover and establish facts, have been



but wearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt.

BUT like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their deliberations are slow. Why then should we distrust them? and in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which would cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which has been celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? and for what is this done? to bring the object we seek for nearer? no, most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me; a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I had so long the honor to command, will oblige me to declare in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers I am bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost of my abilities.

WHILE I give you these assurances and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favor, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm

light of reason, will lessen the dignity and fully the glory you have hitherto maintained.—Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress, that previous to your dissolution, as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago, and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you, for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the sacred rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire with blood.

By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of your enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, “had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of

perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*Head Quarters, Newburgh,*

*March 15, 1783.*

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[*HIS excellency the commander in chief having withdrawn, the following resolutions were moved by generals Knox and Putnam, and adopted by the meeting:—"Resolved, that the unanimous thanks of the officers of the army, be presented to the commander in chief for his excellent address, and the communications he has been pleased to make to them; and to assure him, that the officers reciprocate his affectionate expressions, with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable."*—"Resolved, that at the commencement of the war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature; which motive still exists in the highest degree; and that no circumstance of distress or danger, shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired, at the price of their blood, and eight years faithful service."—"Resolved, that the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the virtue of Congress, and their country."—"Resolved, that the officers of the American army, view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to them, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown person to collect the officers together, in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order.]"



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LAST  
*WILL AND TESTAMENT*  
OF THE LATE  
GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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IN THE NAME OF GOD, *AMEN*.

**I** GEORGE WASHINGTON, of *Mount Vernon*, a citizen of the United States, and lately *President* of the same, DO make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand,\* and every page thereof subscribed with my name, to be my last WILL & TESTAMENT, revoking all others—*Imprimis*: All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid, and the legacies herein after bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

*Item.* To my dearly beloved wife *Martha Washington*, I give and bequeath the use, profit and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on

\* In the original manuscript, *George Washington's* name was written at the bottom every page.

Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs forever, as I also do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

*Item.* Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire, that all the slaves which I hold in my own right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. *And whereas*, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some who from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, that will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all who come under the 1st. and 2d. description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound are (by their masters or

mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children.—And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that *this* clause respecting slaves and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support as long as there are subjects requiring it; not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals:—And to my mulatto man *William* (calling himself *William Lee*) I give immediate freedom, or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so; in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chooses the last alternative; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first: and this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the revolutionary war.



*Item.* To the trustees, governors, (or by whatsoever other name they may be designated) of the Academy, in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, twenty of the shares which I hold in the Bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free school, established at, and annexed to, the said academy, for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who, in the judgment of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid twenty shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity; the dividends only of which are to be drawn for, and applied by the said trustees, for the time being, for the uses above mentioned; the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof, should render a removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above: And to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these twenty shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the thousand pounds given by a missive letter some years ago; in consequence whereof, an annuity of fifty pounds has since been paid towards the support of this institution.

*Item.* Whereas by a law of the commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year '85, the legislature thereof was pleased (as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the

revolution, and partly I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation under legislative patronage) to present me with one hundred shares of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated company established for the purpose of extending the navigation of James River, from tide-water to the mountains; and also with fifty shares of one hundred pounds sterling each, in the corporation of another company, likewise established for the similar purpose, of opening the navigation of the river Potomac, from tide-water to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honorable and grateful to my feelings, was refused as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted and had never departed from—Namely—not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great-Britain for its rights; and because I have evaded similar propositions from other states in the union. Adding to this refusal, however, an intimation that, if it should be the pleasure of the legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to *public uses*, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to, in flattering terms, as would appear by a subsequent law and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honorable manner, I proceed, after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare—That as it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of the United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of

their own ; contracting too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind ; which thereafter are rarely overcome. For these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire ; thereby to do away local attachments and state prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation) my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than the establishment of a University in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature ; in arts and sciences ; in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and (as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment) by associating with each other and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which when carried to excess, are never failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country ; under these impressions so fully dilated—

*Item.* I give and bequeath in perpetuity the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac company (under the aforesaid acts of the Legislature of Virginia) to—



wards the endowment of a UNIVERSITY, to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further WILL and DESIRE is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the Bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress, provided that honorable body should patronize the measure, and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on, until a sum, adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained; of which I have not the smallest doubt, before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by legislative authority, or from any other source.

*Item.* The hundred shares which I hold in the James River company, I have given and now confirm in perpetuity, to and for the use of Liberty-Hall Academy, in the county of Rockbridge, in the commonwealth of Virginia.

*Item.* I release, exonerate and discharge the estate of my deceased brother Samuel Washington from the payment of the money which is due to me for the land sold to Philip Pendleton (lying in the county of Berkley) who assigned the same to him, the said Samuel, who, by agreement, was to pay me therefor; And whereas, by some contract (the pur-

port of which was never communicated to me) between the said Samuel and his son, *Thornton Washington*, the latter became possessed of the afore-said land, without any conveyance having passed from me, either to the said *Pendleton*, the said *Samuel*, or the said *Thornton*, and without any consideration having been made; by which neglect neither the legal nor equitable title has been alienated; it rests therefore with me to declare my intentions concerning the premises; and these are to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said *Thornton Washington* (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs forever, if he died intestate; exonerating the estate of the said *Thornton*, equally with that of the said *Samuel*, from payment of the purchase money, which, with interest, agreeably to the original contract with the said *Pendleton*, would amount to more than a thousand pounds: *And whereas*, two other sons of my deceased brother, *Samuel*, namely, *George Steptoe Washington*, and *Laurence Augustine Washington*, were, by the decree of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and in consequence have occasioned advances on my part for their education at college and other schools; for their board, clothing and other incidental expenses, to the amount of near five thousand dollars over and above the sums furnished by their estate, which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund, I do, for these reasons, acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof—my intention being that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

*Item.* The balance due to me from the estate of *Bartholomew Danbridge*, deceased, (my wife's brother) and which amounted, on the first day of October, 1795, to four hundred and twenty five pounds (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, *John Danbridge*, who was the acting executor of his father's will) I release and acquit from the payment thereof—and the negroes (then thirty-three in number) formerly belonging to the said estate, who were taken in execution, sold and purchased in on my account, in the year (blank) and ever since have remained in the possession, and to the use of *Mary*, widow of said *Bartholomew Danbridge*, with their increase, it is my WILL and DESIRE, shall continue and be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life; at the expiration of which, I direct that all of them, who are forty years old and upwards, shall receive their freedom; all under that age and above sixteen shall serve seven years and no longer; and all under sixteen years, shall serve until they are twenty five years of age, and then be free—And to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of these negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgment thereof, in this relation, shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same.—And I further direct, that the heirs of the said *Bartholomew Danbridge* shall, equally, share the benefits arising from the said negroes, according to the tenor of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.



*Item.* If *Charles Carter*, who was intermarried with my niece, *Betty Lewis*, is not sufficiently secured in the title to the lots he had of me, in the town of *Fredericksburgh*, it is my WILL and DESIRE that my executors shall make such conveyances of them as the law requires, to render it perfect.

*Item.* To my nephew, *William Augustine Washington*, (if he should conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting) and to his heirs, a lot in the town of *Manchester*, (opposite to *Richmond*) No. 265, drawn on my sole account, and also the tenth of one or two hundred acre lots, and two or three half acre lots in the city and vicinity of *Richmond*, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the lottery of the deceased *William Byrd*, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of *John Hood*, conveyed by *William Willis* and *Samuel Gordon*, trustees of the said *John Hood*, numbered 139, in the town of *Edenburg*, in the county of *Prince George*, state of *Virginia*.

*Item.* To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country—I leave to him also, such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

*Item.* Having sold lands which I possessed in the state of *Pennsylvania*, and part of a tract held in equal right with *George Clinton*, late governor of *New-York*, in the state of *New-York*; my share

of land and interest in the Great Dismal Swamp and a tract of land which I owned in the county of Gloucester, withholding the legal titles thereto till the consideration money should be paid—and having moreover leased and conditionally sold (as will appear by the tenor of the said leases) all my lands upon the Great Kenhawa, and a tract upon Difficult Run, in the county of Loudoun, it is my will and direction, that whensoever the contracts are fully and respectively complied with, according to the spirit, true intent and meaning thereof, on the part of the purchasers, their heirs or assigns, that then, and in that case, conveyances are to be made, agreeably to the terms of the said contracts, and the money arising therefrom, when paid, to be vested in bank stock; the dividends whereof, as of that also which is already vested therein, are to endure to my said wife during her life, but the stock is to remain and be subject to the general distribution hereafter directed.

*Item.* To the earl of Buchan I recommit “the box made of the oak that sheltered the Great Sir William Wallace after the battle of Felkirk”—presented to me by his lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request “to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me.” Whether easy or not to select THE MAN who might comport with his lordship’s opinion, in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the goldsmiths

company of Edenburg, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honor of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favorable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

*Item.* To my brother, *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath the gold-headed cane, left me by Dr. Franklin, in his will. I add nothing to it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, *Laurence Washington* and *Robert Washington*, of *Chotanck*, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them; and to each (as they will be useful where they live) I leave one of the spy-glasses, which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compatriot in arms and old intimate friend, *Dr. Craik*, I give my bureau (or, as the cabinet makers call it, *tambour secretary*) and the circular chair, an appendage to my study. To *David Stuart* I give my large shaving and dressing table, and telescope. To the Reverend, now *Bryan Lord Fairfax*, I give a bible, in three large folio volumes, with notes—presented to me by the *Rt. Rev. Thomas Wilson*, bishop of *Sodor and Man*. To *Gen. de la Fayette* I give a pair of finely wrought steel pistols, taken from the enemy in the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law, *Hannah Washington* and *Mildred Washington*—to my friend *Eleonor Stuart*, *Hannah Washington*, of *Fairfield*, and *Elizabeth Washington* of *Hayfield*, I give, each, a mourning ring, of the value of one hundred dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of



them, but as mementos of my esteem and regard. To Tobias Lear I give the use of the farm which he now holds in virtue of a lease from me to him and his deceased wife (for and during their natural lives) free from rent during his life; at the expiration of which, it is to be disposed of as is herein after directed. To Sally B. Haym (a distant relation of mine) I give and bequeath three hundred dollars. To Sarah Green, daughter of the deceased Thomas Bishop, and to Ann Walker, daughter of John Alton, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me; each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family.—To each of my nephews, *William Augustus Washington*, *George Lewis*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Bushrod Washington* and *Samuel Washington*, I give one of the swords or cutteaux, of which I may die possessed: and they are to choole in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self defence or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

AND NOW, having gone through these specific devises, with explanations for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important parts of my estate in manner following:

FIRST. To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, and his heirs, (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father, while we were batch-

tors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services, in the former war between Great Britain and France, that if I should fall therein, Mount Vernon (then less extensive in domain than at present) should become his property) I give and bequeath all that part thereof, which is comprehended within the following lines, viz:—Beginning at the ford of Dogue Run, near my mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes and ever has gone since my recollection of it, to the ford of Little Hunting Creek, at the Gum Spring, until it comes to a knowl, opposite to an old road which formerly passed through the lower field of Muddyhole Farm; at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks, marked as a corner, and a stone placed—thence by a line of trees to be marked rectangular to the back line or outer boundary of the tract between *Thomas Mason* and myself—thence with that line easterly (now double ditching with a post and rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Hunting Creek—thence with that run, which is the boundary between the lands of the late *Humphrey Peake* and me, to the tide water of the said Creek—thence by that water to Potomac River; thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue Creek—and thence with the said Dogue Creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford, containing upwards of four thousand acres, be the same more or less, together with the mansion house, and all other buildings and improvements thereon.

SECOND. In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related to her as to myself; as on account of the affection I

had for, and the obligation I was under to their father when living, who from his youth had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendence of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable for me to do it myself, thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful: for these reasons, I say, I give and bequeath to *George Fayette Washington* and *Laurence Augustine Washington*, and their heirs, my estate east of Little Hunting Creek, lying on River Potomac, including the farm of three hundred and sixty acres, leased to *Tobias Lear*, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty-seven acres, be it more or less; which said estate it is my will and desire should be equitably and advantageously divided between them, according to quantity, quality and other circumstances, when the youngest shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years, by three judicious and disinterested men; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the mean time, if the termination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefit.

THIRD. And whereas it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grand children of my wife in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them, more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy—namely,



*Eleanor Park Custis*, and *George Washington Park Custis*. And whereas the former of these has lately intermarried with *Laurence Lewis*, a son of my deceased sister, *Betty Lewis*, by which union the inducement to provide for them both has increased : Wherefore I give and bequeath to the said *Laurence Lewis* and *Eleanor Park Lewis*, his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate, not already devised to my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, comprehended within the following description, viz.—All the lands north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue Run to the Gum Spring, as described in the devise of the other part of the tract, to *Bushrod Washington*, until it comes to the Stone and three red or Spanish oaks on the knoll, thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between Mr. Mason and me) thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue Run by the tumbling dam of my mill ; thence with the said run to the ford aforementioned, to which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue Run and Dogue Creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereon—together with the mill, distillery, and all other houses and improvements on the premises ; making, together, about two thousand acres, be it more or less.

FOURTH. Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath to *George Washington Park Custis*, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four Mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing one thousand two hundred acres, more or less, and my entire square, number twenty-one, in the city of Washington.

FIFTH. All the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal, not disposed of, in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and whensoever found; a schedule of which, as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed, I desire may be sold by my executors, at such times, in such manner, and on such credits (if an equal, valid, and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without) as in their judgment shall be most conducive to the interest of the parties concerned, and the monies arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, and applied as follows: viz. To *William Augustine Washington*, *Elizabeth Spotwood*, *Jane Thornton*, and the heirs of *Ann Ashton*, son and daughters of my deceased brother, *Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath four parts; that is, one part to each of them: To *Fielding Lewis*, *George Lewis*, *Robert Lewis*, *Howell Lewis* and *Betty Carter*, sons and daughter of my deceased sister *Betty Lewis*, I give and bequeath five other parts, one to each of them. To *George Steptoe Washington*, *Laurence Augustine Washington*, *Harriot Parks*, and the heirs of *Thornton Washington*, sons and daughters of my deceased brother *Samuel Washington*, I give and bequeath the other four parts, one part to each of them. To *Corbis Washington* and the heirs of *Jane Washington*, son and daughter of my deceased brother *John Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath two parts, one part to each of them: To *Samuel Washington*, *Frances Ball*, and *Mildred Hammond*, son and daughters of my brother *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath three parts, one part to each of them: and to *George Fayette Washington*, *Charles Augus-*

*tine Washington*, and *Maria Washington*, sons and daughter of my deceased nephew, *George Augustine Washington*, I give one other part, that is, to each a third of that part; To *Elizabeth Park Law*, *Martha Park Peter*, and *Eleanor Park Lewis*, I give and bequeath three other parts, that is, a part to each of them: And to my nephews *Bushrod Washington* and *Lawrence Lewis*, and to my Ward, the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part, that is, a third thereof to each of them. And if it should so happen, that any of the persons whose names are here enumerated, (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased persons shall, notwithstanding, devise all the benefits of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time; and by way of advice I recommend it to my executors not to be precipitate of disposing of the landed property (therein directed to be sold) if from temporary causes the sale thereof should be dull; experience having fully evinced that the price of land (especially above the falls of the rivers and on the western waters) have been progressively rising and cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the Legatees (under the clause of my will) as can make it convenient, to take each a share of my stock in the Potomac Company, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for—being thoroughly convinced myself, that no uses to which the money can be applied, will be so productive as the tolls arising from this navigation, when in full operation, (and this, from the nature of things, it must be ere long) and more



especially if that of the Shenandoa is added there to.

THE Family Vault at Mount Vernon, requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Inclosure, on the ground which is marked out—in which my remains with those of my deceased relations, now in the old Vault, and such others of my family as may choose to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire that my corpse may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

LASTLY, I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife *Martha Washington*, my nephews *William Augustine Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Samuel Washington*, and *Laurence Lewis*, and my ward, *George Washington Park Custis* (when he shall have arrived at the age of twenty years) Executrix and Executors of this WILL and TESTAMENT—In the construction of which, it will readily be perceived, that no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency in the draught, and that although it has occupied many of my leisure hours to digest, and to throw it into its present form, it may, notwithstanding, appear crude and incorrect—but having endeavored to be plain and explicit in all the devisees, even at the expense of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and trust that no disputes will arise concerning them; but if, contrary to expectation, the case should be otherwise, from

the want of legal expression, or the usual technical terms, or because too much or too little has been said on any of the devises to be consonant with law, my will and direction expressly is, that all disputes (if unhappily any should arise) shall be decided by three impartial and intelligent men, known for their probity and good understanding—two to be chosen by the disputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by those two; which three men, thus chosen shall, unfettered by law or legal constructions, declare the sense of the Testator's intentions; and such decision is, to all intents and purposes, to be as binding on the parties as if it had been given in the Supreme Court of the United States.

IN WITNESS of all, and of each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal, this Ninth Day of July, in the Year One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Ninety——\* and of the Independence of the United States the Twenty-Fourth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. (Seal.)

\* It appears the Testator omitted the word 'NINE.'

# SCHEDULE OF PROPERTY, COMPREHENDED

*In the foregoing WILL, which is directed to be Sold,  
and some of it, conditionally, is Sold; with descrip-  
tive and explanatory notes relative thereto.*

## IN VIRGINIA.

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
<b>L</b> LOUDOUN co. Diffult Run,	300	6,660

*a* This tract, for the size of it, is valuable, more for its situation than the quality of its soil, though that is good for farming, with a considerable proportion of ground, that might very easily be improved into meadow. It lies on the great road from the city of Washington, Alexandria and Georgetown, to Leesburg and Winchester, at Diffult Bridge, nineteen miles from Alexandria, less from the City and George-Town, and not more than three from Matildaville, at the Great Falls of Potomac. There is a valuable seat on the premises, and the whole is conditionally sold for the sum annexed in the schedule.



	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Price.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Loudoun and Fauquier,			
Ashby's Bent,	2481	10d.	24,810 } <i>b</i>
Chattin's Run	885	8	7,080 }
Berkley, S. fork of			
Bullskin,	1600		
Head of Evans's			
m.	453		
In Wormley's line, 183			
	<hr/> 2236	20	44,720c
Frederick bought from			
Mercer,	571	20	11,420d
Hampshire, on Potomac			
river, above B.	240	15	3,600e

*b* What the selling prices of lands in the vicinity of these two tracts are, I know not; but compared with those above the ridge, and others below them, the value annexed will appear moderate—a less one would not obtain them from me.

*c* The surrounding land, not superior in soil, situation, or properties of any sort, sells currently at from twenty to thirty dollars an acre. The lowest price is affixed to these.

*d* The observations made in the last note apply equally to this tract, being in the vicinity of them, and of similar quality, although it lies in another county.

*e* This tract, though small, is extremely valuable. It lies on Potomac River, about 12 miles above the town of Bath (or Warm Springs) and is in the

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Price.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Gloucester, on North river,	400	about	3,600 <sup>g</sup>
Nansmond, near Suffolk, one third of 1119 acres,	373	8	2,984 <sup>g</sup>

shape of a horseshoe, the river running almost around it. Two hundred acres of it are rich low grounds, with a great abundance of the largest and finest walnut trees, which, with the produce of the soil, might (by means of the improved navigation of the Potomac) be brought to a shipping port with more ease, and at a smaller expense, than that which is transported 30 miles only by land.

*f* This tract is of second rate Gloucester low grounds. It has no improvements thereon, but lies on navigable water, abounding in fish and oysters. It was received in payment of a debt (carrying interest) and valued, in the year 1789, by an impartial gentleman, at £.800.—N. B. It has lately been sold, and there is due thereon a balance equal to what is annexed in the schedule.

*g* These 373 acres are the third part of undivided purchases made by the deceased Fielding Lewis, Thomas Walker and myself, on full conviction that they would become valuable. The land lies on the road from Suffolk to Norfolk, touches (if I am not mistaken) some part of the navigable water of Nansmond river; the rich Dismal Swamp, is capable of great improvement, and, from its situation, must become extremely valuable.

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Price.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Great dismal swamp, my dividend thereof,		about	20,000 <i>b</i>
Ohio River, Round Bottom,	587		
Little Kanhawa,	2314		
	<hr/>		
	2901		
Sixteen miles lower down	2448		
Opposite Big Bent	4395		
	<hr/>		
	9744	10	97,440 <i>i</i>

*b* This is an undivided interest which I held in the great Dismal Swamp Company, containing about 4000 acres, with my part of the plantation and stock thereon, belonging to the company, in the said Swamp.

*i* These several tracts of land are of the first quality on the Ohio River, in the parts where they are situated, being almost, if not altogether, river bottoms. The smallest of these tracts is actually sold at ten dollars an acre, but the consideration therefor not received. The rest are equally valuable, and will sell as high;—especially that which lies just below the Little Kanhawa, and is opposite to a thick settlement on the west side of the river. The four tracts have an aggregate breadth upon the river of sixteen miles, and are bounded thereby that distance.



## GREAT KANHAWA.

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Near the North		
West,	10,990	
East side above	7276	
Mouth of Cole river,	2000	
Opposite there-		
to,	2950	
Burning Spring, 125	3075	
		200,000

These tracts are situated on the Great Kanha-  
wa River, and the first four are bounded thereby  
for more than forty miles. It is acknowledged by  
all who have seen them (and of the tract containing  
10,990 acres, which I have been on myself, I can  
assert) that, there is no richer, or more valuable  
land in all that region. They are conditionally sold  
for the sum mentioned in the schedule, that is  
200,000 dollars, and if the terms of that sale are  
not complied with, they will command considerably  
more.—The tract, of which the 125 acres is a moi-  
ety, was taken up by general Andrew Lewis and  
myself, for, and on account of, a bitumenous  
spring which it contains, of so inflammable a nature,  
as to burn as freely as spirits, and is nearly as diffi-  
cult to extinguish.

# APPENDIX.

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## MARYLAND.

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Price.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Charles County,	600	6	3,600 <i>l</i>
Montgomery do.	519	12	6229 <i>m</i>

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Great Meadows,	234	6	1,404 <i>n</i>
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## NEW-YORK.

Mohawk River, about 1000	6	6,000 <i>o</i>
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I am but little acquainted with this land, although I have been on it. It was received, (many years since) in discharge of a debt due to me from Daniel Jenifer Adams, at the value annexed thereto, and must be worth more. It is very level—lies near the river Potomac.

*m* This tract lies about 30 miles above the city of Washington, not far from Kittoctan. It is good farming land, and, by those who are well acquainted with it, I am informed that it would sell at twelve or fifteen dollars per acre.

*n* This land is valuable, on account of its local situation and other properties. It affords an exceeding good stand on Braddock's Road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburg, and, besides a fertile soil, possesses a large quantity of natural meadow, fit for the scythe. It is distinguished by the appellation of the Great Meadows, where the first action with the French, in the year 1754, was fought.

*o* This is the moiety of about 2000 acres, which remains unfold, of 6071 acres on the Mohawk

## NORTH WEST TERRITORY.

	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Price.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
On Little Miami,	839		
Ditto,	977		
Ditto,	1235		

---

3051 5 15,255

KENTUCKY.

Rough Creek,	3000		
Ditto Adjoining,	2000		
	5000	2	10,000

river, Montgomery county, in a patent granted to Daniel Coxe, in the township of Coxeborough and Carolan, as will appear by deed, from Marinus Willet and wife, to George Clinton (late governor of New-York) and myself. The latter sales have been at six dollars an acre, and what remains unfold will fetch that or more.

*p* The quality of these lands and their situation, may be known by the Surveyor's certificates, which are filed along with the patents.—They lie in the vicinity of Cincinnati; one tract near the mouth of the Little Miami—another seven, and the third ten miles up the same, I have been informed that they will readily command more than they are estimated at.

*q* For the description of those tracts in detail, see general Spotswood's letters, filed with the other papers relating to them. Besides the general good quality of the land, there is a valuable bank of iron ore thereon, which, when the settlement becomes more populous (and settlers are moving that way



*Dollars.*

## LOTS—VIZ.

*City of Washington.*

Two near the Capitol, square 634, cost	
963 dollars, and with buildings,	15,000
No. 5, 12, 13, and 14, the three last	
water lots on the Eastern Branch, in	
square 667, containing together	
34,438 square feet, at 12 cents,	4,132

very fast) will be found very valuable, as the Rough creek, a branch of Green river, affords ample water for furnaces and forges.

The two lots near the capitol, in square 634, cost me 963 dollars only, but in this price I was favored, on condition that I should build two brick houses, three story high each; without this reduction, the selling prices of those lots would have cost me about 1350 dollars. These lots, with the buildings thereon, when completed, will stand me in 15,000 dollars at least.

Lots, No. 5, 12, 13 and 14, on the Eastern Branch, are advantageously situated on the water, and although many lots much less convenient have sold a great deal higher, I will rate these at 12 cents the square foot only.

Dollars.

Dollars.

*Alexandria.*

Corner of Pitt and Prince streets, half an acre laid out into buildings, three or four of which are let on ground rent, at three dollars per foot.

4,000

*Winchester.*

A lot in the town of half an acre, and another in the commons of about six acres, supposed,

4000

*Bath, or Warm Springs.*

Two, well situated, and had buildings on to the amount of 1500.

8000

\* For this lot, though unimproved, I have refused 3500 dollars. It has since been laid off into proper sized lots for building on—three or four of which are let on ground rent forever, at three dollars a foot on the street—and this price is asked for both fronts on Pitt and Prince street.

“ As neither the lot in the town or common have any improvements on them, it is not easy to fix a price; but as both are well situated, it is presumed the price annexed to them in the schedule is a reasonable valuation.

“ The lots in Bath (two adjoining) cost me to the best of my recollection, between 50 and 60

# APPENDIX.

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Dollars.

## STOCK.

*United States.*

Six per cents	3746	
Ditto deferred 1873 }		
Three per cents 2946 }	2500	
	<hr/>	6246

*Potomac Company.*

Twenty-four shares, cost each 100l.  
sterling. 10,666y

pounds, 20 years ago; and the building thereon 150l. more.—Whether property there has encreased or decreased in its value, and in what condition the houses are, I am ignorant—but suppose they are not valued too high.

\* These are the sums which are actually funded, and though no more in the aggregate than 7,566 dollars, stand me in at least ten thousand pounds, Virginia money; being the amount of bonded and other debts due to me, and discharged during the war, when money had depreciated in that rate— and was so settled by public authority.

y The value annexed to these shares is what they have actually cost me, and is the price affixed by law; and although the present selling price is under par, my advice to the Legatees (for whose benefit they are intended, especially those who can afford to lie out of the money) is, that each should



Dollars.

*James River Company.*

Five shares, each cost 100 dollars,

500

*Bank of Columbia.*One hundred and seventy shares, 40  
dollars each

6,800

*Bank of Alexandria.*Besides twenty shares to the Free School  
—Five,

1000

take and hold one—there being a moral certainty of a great and increasing profit arising from them, in the course of a few years.

z It is supposed that the shares in the James River company must also be productive: but of this I can give no decided opinion, for want of more accurate information.

† These are the nominal prices of the shares in the Banks of Alexandria and Columbia—the selling prices vary according to circumstances; but as the stock usually divides from eight to ten per cent per annum, they must be worth the former, at least, so long as the banks are conceived to be secure, although circumstances may sometimes make them below it.

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## STOCK LIVING, viz.

*Dollars.*

One covering horse, five carriage horses, four riding ditto, six brood mares, 20 working horses and mares, two covering Jacks and three young ones, ten the asses, 42 working mules, 15 younger ones, 329 head of horned cattle, 640 head of sheep, and a large stock of hogs, the precise number unknown.

☞ My Manager has estimated this live stock at 7000l. but I shall set it down, in order to make a round sum, at

15,653

Aggregate amount,

530,000

The value of the live stock depends more upon the quality than quantity of the different species of it—and this again upon the demand and judgment, or fancy, of purchasers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*Mount Vernon, 9th July, 1799.*

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## PARTICULAR ACCOUNT

OF THE

## LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

OF

## GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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Alexandria, (Virg.) December 21, 1799.

SOME time in the night of Friday, the 10th instant, having been exposed to a rain on the preceding day, General WASHINGTON was attacked with an inflammatory affection of the upper part of the wind pipe, called in technical language *Cynache Trachealis*. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain in the upper and fore part of the throat, a sense of stricture in the same part, a cough, and a difficult, rather than a painful deglutition, which were soon succeeded by fever and a quick and laborious respiration. The necessity of blood-letting suggesting itself to the General, he procured a bleeder in the neighborhood; who took from his arm in the night twelve or fourteen ounces of blood. He could not by any means be prevailed on by the family to send



for the attending physician till the following morning, who arrived at Mount Vernon at about 11 o'clock on Saturday. Discovering the case to be highly alarming, and foreseeing the fatal tendency of the disease, two consulting physicians were immediately sent for, who arrived, one at half after three, and the other at four o'clock in the afternoon: in the mean time were employed two pretty copious bleedings, a blister was applied to the part affected, two moderate doses of calomel were given, and an injection was administered, which operated on the lower intestines, but all without any perceptible advantage, the respiration becoming still more difficult and distressing. Upon the arrival of the first of the consulting physicians, it was agreed, as there were yet no signs of accumulation in the bronchial vessels of the lungs, to try the result of another bleeding, when about thirty-two ounces of blood were drawn, without the smallest apparent alleviation of the disease. Vapours of vinegar and water were frequently inhaled, ten grains of calomel were given, succeeded by repeated doses of emetic tartar, amounting in all to five or six grains, with no other effect than a copious discharge from the bowels. The powers of life seemed now manifestly yielding to the force of the disorder; blisters were applied to the extremities, together with a cataplasm of bran and vinegar to the throat. Speaking, which was painful from the beginning, now became almost impracticable; respiration grew more and more contracted and imperfect, till half after 11 on Saturday night, retaining the full possession of his intellect—when he expired without a struggle.

He was fully impressed at the beginning of his complaint, as well as through every succeeding stage of it, that its conclusion would be mortal; submitting to the several exertions made for his recovery, rather as a duty, than from any expectation of their efficacy. He considered the operations of death upon his system as coeval with the disease; and several hours before his death, after repeated efforts to be understood, succeeded in expressing a desire that he might be permitted to die without further interruption.

DURING the short period of his illness, he economized his time, in the arrangement of such few concerns as required his attention with the utmost serenity; and anticipated his approaching dissolution with every demonstration of that equanimity for which his whole life has been so uniformly and singularly conspicuous.

JAMES CRAIK, *Attending Physician.*

ELISHA C. DICK, *Consulting Physician.*

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### WASHINGTON'S FUNERAL.

*Extract of a letter from Alexandria, dated*

*Dec. 19, 1799.*

"YESTERDAY I attended the Funeral of the Saviour of our country at Mount Vernon; and had the honour of being one who carried his body to the vault. He was borne by military gentlemen, and brethren of our lodge, of which he was formerly master. I inclose you a sketch of the

procession. To describe the scene is impossible. The coffin bore his sword and apron ; and the members of the lodge walked as mourners. His horse was led, properly coparisoned, by two of his servants, in mourning.

“ As I helped place his body in the vault, and stood at the door while funeral service was performing, I had the best opportunity of observing the countenances of all. Every one was affected, but none so much as his domestics of all ages.”

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### INTERMENT.

Georgetown, December 20th, 1799.

ON Wednesday last, the mortal part of WASHINGTON the great—the father of his country and the friend of man, was consigned to the tomb, with solemn honors and funeral pomp.

A MULTITUDE of persons assembled, from many miles around, at Mount Vernon, the choice abode and last residence of the illustrious chief. There were the groves, the spacious avenues, the beautiful and sublime scenes, the noble mansion ; but, alas ! the august inhabitant was now no more. That great soul was gone. His mortal part was there indeed ; but ah ! how affecting ! how awful the spectacle of such worth and greatness, thus, to mortal eyes, fallen ; yes ! fallen ! fallen !

IN the long and lofty portico, where oft the hero walked in all his glory, now lay the shrouded corpse. The countenance still composed and serene, seemed to express the dignity of the spirit which lately dwelt in that lifeless form. There those who paid the last sad honors to the benefactor of his country, took an impressive, a farewell view.

ON the ornament, at the head of the coffin, was inscribed *SURGE AD JUDICIUM*; about the middle of the coffin, *GLORIA DEO*; and on the silver plate,

*GENERAL*

*GEORGE WASHINGTON,*

*DEPARTED THIS LIFE, ON THE 14th DEC. 1799,  
ÆT. 68.*

BETWEEN three and four o'clock, the sound of artillery from a vessel in the river, firing minute guns, awoke afresh our solemn sorrow; the corpse was moved; a band of music with mournful melody, melted the soul into all the tenderness of woe.

THE procession was formed and moved on in the following order:



Cavalry, } with arms reversed, { Guard,  
 Infantry, }

Music,

Clergy,

The general's horse, with his saddle, holsters,  
 and pistols.

Col. SIMMS,

Col. GILPIN,

Col. RAMSAY,

Col. MARSTELLER,

Col. PAYNE,

Col. LITTLE,

Mourners,

Masonic Brethren,

Citizens.

WHEN the procession had arrived at the bottom of the elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potomac, where the family vault is placed, the cavalry halted, the infantry marched towards the Mount and formed the inlines; the clergy, the masonic brothers, and the citizens, descended to the vault, and the funeral service of the church was performed. The firing was repeated from the vessel in the river, and the sound echoed from the woods and hills around.

THREE general discharges by the infantry, the cavalry, and eleven pieces of artillery, which lined the banks of the Potomac back of the vault, paid the last tribute to the entombed commander in chief

of the armies of the United States, and to the venerable departed hero.

THE sun was now setting. Alas ! the SUN OF GLORY was set forever. No—the name of WASHINGTON, the American President and General will triumph over death ; the unclouded brightness of his glory will illuminate future ages.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS

ON THE

ANNUNCIATION OF THE DEATH

OF

*GENERAL WASHINGTON.*

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

House of Representatives, December 18, 1799.

**I**MMEDIATELY after the journals were read, General Marshall came into the house of representatives, apparently much agitated, and said,

*MR. SPEAKER,*

INFORMATION has just been received, that our illustrious fellow citizen, the commander in chief of the American army, and the late president of the United States, is no more. Though this distressing intelligence is not certain, there is too much reason to believe its truth.



AFTER receiving information of a national calamity so heavy, and so afflicting, the house of representatives can be but ill fitted for public business. I move you, therefore, that we adjourn.

*The house immediately adjourned.*

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THURSDAY, DEC. 19.

*The following Message was received from the PRESIDENT of the United States.*

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THE letter herewith transmitted will inform you, that it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life, our excellent fellow citizen, **GEORGE WASHINGTON**—By the purity of his character, and a long series of services to his country, rendered illustrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honor to his memory.

JOHN ADAMS.

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“ Mount Vernon, Dec. 16, 1799.

“ SIR,

“ IT is with inexpressible grief that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good Gen. WASHINGTON. He died last evening, between 10 and 11 o'clock, after a short illness of

about twenty-four hours. His disorder was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint on Friday. On Saturday morning about three o'clock, he became ill. Dr. Dick attended him in the morning, and Dr. Craik, of Alexandria, and Dr. Brown, of Port Tobacco, were soon after called in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect. His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan, nor a complaint, escaped him, though in extreme distress.— With perfect resignation, and a full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life. I have the honor to be, &c.

“TOBIAS LEAR.

“*The President of the United States.*”

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GEN. MARSHALL, with deep sorrow on his countenance, and in a pathetic tone of voice, thus addressed the house:—

MR. SPEAKER,

THE melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our WASHINGTON is no more!— The hero, the sage, and the patriot of America—the man on whom, in times of danger, every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now, only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and affected people.

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IF, sir, it had not been usual, openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom heaven had selected as its instruments, for dispensing good to man ; yet, such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal.

MORE than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading empire, and to give to the western world its independence and its freedom. Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and voluntarily sink the soldier in the citizen.

WHEN the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected the parts of this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution, which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings our revolution had promised to bestow.

IN obedience to the general voice of his country, calling on him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination, pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute,

more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy, which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honor, and our independence. Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we see him, at a time when his re-election with the universal suffrage could not have been doubted, affording the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high station to the peaceful walks of private life.

HOWEVER public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with respect to others, yet, with respect to him, they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

LET us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels.

FOR this purpose, I hold in my hand some resolutions which I will take the liberty to offer to the house :

“RESOLVED, that this house will wait on the president of the United States, in condolence of this mournful event :

“RESOLVED, that the speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the house wear black during the session :



“RESOLVED, that a committee, in conjunction with one from the senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his country :

“RESOLVED, that this house, when it adjourn, do adjourn to Monday.”

THESE resolutions were unanimously agreed to. Sixteen members were appointed on the third resolution.

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GENERALS MARSHALL and Smith, having waited on the president to know when he would be ready to receive the house—the president named one o'clock this day. The house accordingly waited on him, when the speaker thus addressed the president :

SIR,

THE house of representatives, penetrated with a sense of the irreparable loss sustained by the nation, by the death of that great and good man, the illustrious and beloved WASHINGTON, wait on you, sir, to express their condolence on this melancholy and distressing event.

*To which the President replied :*

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I RECEIVE with the greatest respect and affection, the condolence of the house of representatives, on the melancholy and afflicting event in the death of the most illustrious and beloved personage which this country ever produced. I sympathize with you —with the nation, and with good men, through the world, in the irreparable loss sustained by us all.

JOHN ADAMS.

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PHILADELPHIA, DEC. 23, 1799.

THE senate of the United States, this day, sent the following letter of condolence to the president, by a committee of its members, to which he returned the annexed answer.

*To the President of the United States.*

THE senate of the United States respectfully take leave, sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THIS event, so distressing to all our fellow citizens, must be peculiarly heavy on you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with

yours: on this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man at such a crisis is no common calamity to the world: our country mourns her father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to him, who "maketh darkness his pavilion."

WITH patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reprov'd the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled to the end of his journey, and carried with him an encreasing weight of glory; he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of Heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

SUCH was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated; WASHINGTON yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in Heaven.

LET his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage: let them teach their children never

to forget that the fruits of his labors, and his example are their inheritance.

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*PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

I RECEIVE with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret, for the loss our country has sustained, in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

IN the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities—I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity—with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation and constancy.

AMONG all our original associates, in that memorable league of the continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although, with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother—yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition, which appears in all ages and classes, to mingle



their sorows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

THE life of our WASHINGTON cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty, could have only served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds, who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never have blasted his honor, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule.

For himself he had lived enough, to life and to glory; for his fellow citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal. For me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men, and the results of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me, but humble resignation.

His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a *Trajan* found a *Pliny*, a *Marcus Aurelius* can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

JOHN ADAMS.

IN the house of representatives, General Marshall made a report, in part, from the joint committee appointed to consider a suitable mode of commemorating the death of General WASHINGTON.

HE reported the following resolutions :

*RESOLVED* by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, that a marble monument be erected, by the United States, in the capitol of the city of Washington, and that the family of General WASHINGTON be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

*AND* be it further resolved, that there be a funeral procession from congress hall, to the German Lutheran church, in memory of GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, on Thursday, the 26th inst. and that an oration be prepared at the request of congress, to be delivered before both houses on that day; and that the president of the senate, and speaker of the house of representatives, be desired to request one of the members of congress to prepare and deliver the same.

*AND* be it further resolved, that it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

*AND* be it further resolved, that the president be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be

transmitted to Mrs. *Washington*, assuring her of the profound respect congress will ever bear to her person and character, of their condolence on the late afflicting dispensation of Providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General WASHINGTON in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

*AND be it further resolved*, that the president be requested to issue a proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States, the recommendation contained in the third resolution.

THESE resolutions passed both houses unanimously.

December 24.

THIS day, in the house of representatives, the speaker informed the house, that in conformity to the second resolution passed on Monday, Major-General Lee had been appointed, by the president of the senate, and the speaker of the house of representatives, to prepare and deliver the oration in honor of our late illustrious commander in chief, on Thursday next, which appointment he had been pleased to accept.

A MESSAGE was received from the president of the United States, notifying the house that he had agreed to the resolutions passed on Monday, in honor of the memory of GENERAL WASHINGTON, and deposited them among the rolls and records of the United States.

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FUNERAL ORATION,  
ON THE DEATH

OF

GENERAL WASHINGTON,

*Pronounced before both houses of Congress, on the  
26th December, 1799.*

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BY MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY LEE.

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I N obedience to your will, I rise your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the system of public mourning which you have been pleased to adopt, commemorative of the death of the most illustrious and most beloved personage this country has ever produced; and which, while it transmits to posterity your sense of the awful event, faintly represents your knowledge of the consummate excellence you so cordially honor.

DESPERATE indeed is any attempt on earth to meet correspondently this dispensation of Heaven; for while with pious resignation we submit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never cease lamenting, in our finite view of omnipotent wisdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world shakes to



its centre; when every moment gives birth to strange and momentous changes; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any share in the slaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to risk the doleful casualties of war: what limits is there to the extent of our loss?—none within the reach of my words to express; none which your feelings will not disavow.

THE founder of our federate republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more! oh that this were but questionable! hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonizing hearts its balmy dew. — But, alas! there is no hope for us; our WASHINGTON is removed forever! Possessing the stoutest frame, and purest mind, he had passed nearly to his sixty-eighth year, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Saturday, and, defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday, put an end to the best of men. An end did I say?—his fame survives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts, in the growing knowledge of our children, in the affection of the good throughout the world; and when our monuments shall be done away; when nations now existing shall be no more; when even our young and far-spreading empire shall have perished, still will our WASHINGTON's glory unfaded shine, and die not until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sinks into chaos.

How, my fellow citizens, shall I single to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth! where shall I begin in opening to your view a character throughout sublime? shall I speak of his warlike achievements, all springing from obedience to his country's will—all directed to his country's good?

Will you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to see your youthful WASHINGTON, supporting, in the dismal hour of Indian victory, the ill-fated *Braddock*, and saving, by his judgment, and by his valor, the remains of a defeated army, pressed by the conquering savage foe? Or, when oppressed America, nobly resolving to risk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of congress to the command of her armies: will you follow him to the high grounds of Boston, where to an undisciplined, courageous, and virtuous yeomanry, his presence gave the stability of system, and infused the invincibility of love of country; or shall I carry you to the painful scenes of Long-Island, York-Island and New-Jersey, when, combating superior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by chiefs high in the roll of fame, he stood the bulwark of our safety; undismayed by disaster; unchanged by change of fortune. Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep gloom unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks; himself unmoved.—Dreadful was the night—It was about this time of winter—the storm raged—the Delaware, rolling furiously with floating ice, forbade the approach of man. WASHINGTON, self-collected, viewed the tremendous scene—his

country called ; unappalled by surrounding dangers, he passed to the hostile shore ; he fought ; he conquered. The morning sun cheered the American world. Our country rose on the event ; and her dauntless chief, pursuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton, what his vast soul had conceived on the shores of Delaware.

THENCE to the strong grounds of Morris-Town he led his small but gallant band ; and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whose matchless force was measurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hostile legions, conducted by a chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valor on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell *Wolf*, *Montcalm*, and since, our much lamented *Montgomery*—all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his masterly conduct, our fathers, ourselves, animated by his resistless example, rallied around our country's standard, and continued to follow her beloved chief through the various and trying scenes to which the destinies of our union led.

Who is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine—the fields of Germantown—or the plains of Monmouth ? every where present, wants of every kind obstructing, numerous and valiant armies encountering, himself a host, he assuaged our sufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering republic. Shall I display to you the spread of the fire of his soul, by rehearsing the praises of the hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas ? no ; our WASHINGTON wears



not borrowed glory : to *Gates*—to *Greene*, he gave without reserve the applause due to their eminent merit ; and long may the chiefs of *Saratoga*, and of *Eutaws*, receive the grateful respect of a grateful people.

MOVING in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites ; and combining the physical and moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason, and checking despondency ; until the auspicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to submission the sinner conqueror of *India* ; thus finishing his long career of military glory with a lustre corresponding to his great name, and in this his last act of war, affixing the seal of fate to our nation's birth.

To the horrid din of battle sweet peace succeeded ; and our virtuous chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition ; and, surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare, teaching an admiring world that to be truly great, you must be truly good.

WAS I to stop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed unfinished. Great as was our *WASHINGTON* in war, and as much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American republic, it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous : his various talents combining



all the capacities of a statesman with those of a soldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he rested from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was still sounding in our ears, when he who had been our shield and our sword, was called forth to act a less splendid but more important part.

POSSESSING a clear and penetrating mind, a strong and sound judgment, calmness and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmness and perseverance in resolutions maturely formed, drawing information from all, acting from himself, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotism: his own superiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man designed by Heaven to lead in the great political, as well as military events, which have distinguished the era of his life.

THE finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at WASHINGTON, was neither mistaken nor unobserved; when, to realize the vast hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political system became indispensable.

How novel, how grand the spectacle! independent states stretched over an immense territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their safety, deciding by frank comparison of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reason, a common government through whose commanding protection, liberty and order, with their long train of blessings, should be safe to themselves, and the sure inheritance of their posterity.

THIS arduous task devolved on citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom, and confidence in their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and of patriots, WASHINGTON of course was found; and, as if acknowledged to be almost wise, where all were wise, with one voice he was declared their chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labors of himself and his compatriots, the work of their hands, and our union, strength and prosperity, the fruits of that work, best attest.

BUT to have essentially aided in presenting to his country this consummation of her hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its ethereal spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius unaccompanied with the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a constitution, was shewing only, without realizing, the general happiness. This great work remained to be done; and America, steadfast in her preference, with one voice summoned her beloved WASHINGTON, unpractised as he was in the duties of civil administration, to execute this last step in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed the high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue. What was the burst of joy through our anxious land on this exhilarating event is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonstrations of their gratitude; and

this high wrought, delightful scene, was heightened in its effect, by the singular contest between the zeal of the bestowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honors bestowed. Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life. He best understood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity; watching with an equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundations of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of a free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the respect of the world.

*"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!"*

LEADING through the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting interests, seconded by succeeding houses of congress, enlightened and patriotic, he surmounted all original obstruction, and brightened the path of our national felicity.

THE presidential term expiring, his solicitude to exchange exaltation for humility, returned with force, increased with increase of age; and he has prepared his farewell address to his countrymen proclaiming his intention, when the united interpo-

sition of all around him, enforced by the eventful prospects of the epoch, produced a further sacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of president followed, and WASHINGTON, by the unanimous vote of the nation, was called to resume the chief magistracy. What a wonderful fixture of confidence! Which attracts most our admiration—a people so correct, or a citizen combining an assemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and stifling even envy itself? Such a nation ought to be happy—such a chief must be forever revered.

WAR, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict, deluging Europe with blood, began to shed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the first, outstretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant *Wayne*, the American Eagle soared triumphant through distant forests. Peace followed victory; and the melioration of the condition of the enemy, followed peace. Godlike virtue, which uplifts even the subdued savage.

To the second he opposed himself. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the stake. Soon did his penetrating mind discern and seize the only course, continuing to us all the felicity enjoyed. He issued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole subsequent conduct, was sanctioned by the approbation of both houses of congress, and by the approving voice of the people.



To this sublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intrusion, unshaken by domestic turbulence.

*"Justum et tenacem propositi viram,  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis tyranni,  
Mente quatit solida."*

MAINTAINING his pacific system at the expense of no duty, America, faithful to herself, and unsustained in her honor, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter under the accumulated miseries of an unexampled war; miseries in which our happy country must have shared, had not our pre-eminent WASHINGTON been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

PURSuing steadfastly his course, he held fast the public happiness, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal discord, till the revolving period of a third election approached, when he executed his interrupted, but inextinguishable desire, of returning to the humble walks of private life.

THE promulgation of his fixed resolution, stopped the anxious wishes of an affectionate people, from adding a third unanimous testimonial of their unabated confidence in the man so long enthroned in their hearts. When before was affection like this exhibited on earth?—turn over the records of ancient Greece—review the annals of mighty Rome—examine the volumes of modern Europe; you

search in vain. America and her WASHINGTON only afford the dignified exemplification.

THE illustrious personage called by the national voice in succession to the arduous office of guiding a free people, had new difficulties to encounter: The amicable effort of settling our difficulties with France, begun by WASHINGTON, and pursued by his successor in virtue as in station, proving abortive, America took measures of self-defence. No sooner was the public mind roused by a prospect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though secluded from public view, and grey in public service. The virtuous veteran, following his plough, received the unexpected summons with mingled emotions of indignation at the unmerited ill-treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to risk his all in her defence.

THE annunciation of these feelings, in his affecting letter to the president, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

FIRST in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life: pious, just, humane, temperate and sincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him as were the effects of that example lasting.

To his equals he was condescending; to his inferiors kind; and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender; correct throughout, vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fos-

tering hand; the purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

His last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life: although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a groan escaped him; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well spent life. Such was the man America has lost! Such was the man for whom our nation mourns!

METHINKS I see his august image, and hear, falling from his venerable lips, these deep sinking words:

"CEASE, SONS OF AMERICA, lamenting our separation: go on, and confirm by your wisdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers. Reverence religion; diffuse knowledge throughout your land; patronize the arts and sciences; let liberty and order be inseparable companions; controul party spirit, the bane of free government; observe good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations; shut up every avenue to foreign influence; contract rather than extend national connexions; rely on yourselves only—be American in thought and deed. Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the constant object of my terrestrial labors: thus will you preserve, undisturbed, to the latest posterity, the felicity of a people to me most dear; and thus will you supply (if my happiness is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliss high Heaven bestows."

## PROCLAMATION,

*By the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES  
of AMERICA.*

**W**HEREAS the Congress of the United States have this day resolved, "That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble on the twenty-second day of February next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief for the death of Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON, by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayers:" and, "That the President be requested to issue a proclamation for the purpose of carrying the foregoing resolutions into effect." NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN ADAMS, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the same accordingly.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, the sixth day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred, and of the independence of the said states the twenty-fourth.

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President,

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Secretary of State.



*PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.*

MR. SHAW, secretary to the president, communicated the following message :

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

IN compliance with the request in one of the resolutions of congress of the 21st December last, I transmitted a copy of those resolutions by my secretary, Mr. SHAW, to *Mrs. Washington*, assuring her of the profound respect congress will ever bear to her person and character; of their condolence in the late afflicting dispensation of Providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General GEORGE WASHINGTON, in the manner expressed in the first resolution. As the sentiments of that virtuous lady, not less beloved by this nation than she is at present greatly afflicted, can never be so well expressed as in her own words; I transmit to congress her original letter.

It would be an attempt of too much delicacy, to make any comments upon it; but there can be no doubt, that the nation at large, as well as all the branches of the government, will be highly gratified by any arrangement which may diminish the sacrifice she makes of her individual feelings.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Jan. 8, 1800.

*MRS. WASHINGTON's LETTER.*

Mount Vernon, Dec. 31, 1799.

SIR,

**W**HILE I feel with keenest anguish, the late dispensation of Divine Providence, I cannot be insensible to the mournful tributes of respect and veneration, which are paid to the memory of my dear deceased husband; and, as his best services and most anxious wishes, were always devoted to the welfare and happiness of his country, to know that they were truly appreciated, and gratefully remembered, affords no inconsiderable consolation.

TAUGHT by the great example, which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit me, and in doing this, I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty.

WITH grateful acknowledgment and unfeigned thanks for the personal respect, and evidences of condolence, expressed by congress and yourself, I remain very respectfully, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

*MARTHA WASHINGTON.*

The President of the United States.

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[From the detached state in which most of the pieces that compose this Volume were in, at the time of issuing our proposals, it was impossible to form a correct estimate of the number of pages they would make, when collected together, but it was supposed, from a comparison with other works of the kind, that they would form, together with a list of subscribers' names, a volume of nearly 300 pages; this calculation has proved incorrect; we therefore subjoin the following addresses, presented to Gen. Washington, while President of the United States, with his answers, and the annexed pieces written upon the event of his death, which, we trust, will not be unacceptable to the patrons of the work.]

## ADDRESS

*Of the Legislature of New-Jersey to the President of the United States.*

SIR,

THE Legislature of New-Jersey, although fully sensible of the trouble and interruption occasioned by the numerous addresses of congratulation, on your acceptance of the highest office in the commonwealth, would neither forgive themselves, nor expect the pardon of their constituents, should they neglect, in this their first meeting, after the organization of the Federal Government, to express their joy, on seeing you at the head of the United States.

NEW-JERSEY having been the central theatre of the late war, and the scene of some of the most important military operations, which distinguished the American armies, and added new honors to their illustrious commander, we are particularly induced to commemorate those brilliant exploits, which

while they immortalized your name, afforded peace and security to the inhabitants of the state.

ADULATION, Sir, we are as much indisposed to offer, as you can be disinclined to receive; but while we add our voice to that of the world, in celebrating your military achievements, we cannot refrain from acknowledging the attention, which you have always paid to the laws of the state, and your inflexible perseverance, amidst all the dire necessities of war, in preferring the rights of the citizen to the convenience of the soldier; thus, while equal to the most renowned warriors as a hero, you have proved yourself superior to them as a citizen.

As New-Jersey was early and unanimous in adopting the Constitution, under which you rule—as every voice called you forth to the office of chief magistrate, and every person looks up to it and you for protection, prosperity, and good government—we may, we trust, assure you, that the citizens of this state will, to the utmost of their abilities, ever strengthen and support you in the discharge of your high and momentous trust.

We have reason to adore the Divine Providence, in raising up for us a Leader and Ruler, so perfectly suited to our situation and circumstances; and sincerely believe, that great and important as your services have been, you will not derive more honor therefrom, than from your humility and self-denial, in modestly ascribing all, as you constantly have done, to the power and wisdom of the Most High.



WE earnestly pray, that the same kind Providence which has conducted you with so much honor to yourself, and such unspeakable felicity to the public, may long continue you a blessing to the United States, in your present important office, and at last crown you with that palm of victory, which is promised to those, who by divine assistance shall finally prove to be more than conquerors.

*House of Assembly, November 30, 1789.*

*Signed in and by order of the House,*

JOHN BEATTY, *Speaker.*

*Council Chamber, Dec. 1, 1789.*

*Signed in and by order of Council,*

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, *President.*

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## ANSWER

*Of George Washington, President of the United States,  
to the Honorable the Legislature of the State of  
New-Jersey.*

GENTLEMEN,

IN replying to the flattering and affectionate address, with which you are pleased to honor me, I confess a want of expression to convey the grateful sentiments which it inspires. You will do justice to those sentiments, by believing that they are founded in sincere regard, and respectful esteem.

THE opportunities which were afforded me, in the trying vicissitudes of our arduous struggle, to remark the generous spirit, which animated the exertions of your citizens, have impressed a remembrance of their worth, which no length of time, or change of circumstances, can efface.

To the gallantry and firmness of their efforts in the field, they have added the wisdom and liberality of distinguished patriotism in council. Appreciating, with judicious discernment, the blessings of that independence, which their efforts contributed to establish, they were unanimously agreed to secure and perpetuate them, by adopting a constitution, which promised equal and efficient protection to the privileges of Confederate America.

THE assurance now given by your honorable body, to support the federal system, is a renewed proof of the estimation in which it is held, and a happy indication of the beneficial effects already experienced, and hereafter expected to flow from its operations. As such it is to me peculiarly grateful, and must be so to every citizen of the union, whose wish is private prosperity and public honor.

ALLOW me, Gentlemen, to assure you of every endeavor on my part, to promote these desirable objects.

IN making my acknowledgments for the favorable opinions you express of my military conduct, as it respected the observance of civil rights, it is justice to assign great merit to the temper of those citizens, whose estates were more immediately the scene of

warfare. Their personal services were rendered without constraint, and the derangement of their affairs submitted to without dissatisfaction. It was the triumph of patriotism over personal consideration, and our present enjoyment of peace and freedom reward the sacrifice.

IMPLORING a continuance of these enjoyments to our country, and individual happiness to the citizens who procured them, I offer up a sincere prayer for you, Gentlemen, and your constituents.

G. WASHINGTON.

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## ADDRESS

*Of the Delegates of the State Societies of the Cincinnati, in General Meeting, to the President of the United States.*

SIR,

**W**E, the Delegates of the State Societies of the Cincinnati, assembled at our triennial general meeting, congratulate you on being unanimously elected the head of our rising Republic.

As a part of the community, we felicitate our countrymen on this happy event; and we embrace the first opportunity of expressing our sentiments, with no less zeal than sincerity.

WHEN we say we love and revere you as a Father, we not only speak the language of our own hearts,

but we speak the language of all who have fought, suffered, and conquered under your command. Were poverty and consciousness of duty our only recompense, still should we glory in the part we have acted. For our motives, as they regarded our country, will afford us satisfaction, as well through the vicissitudes of life, as in the moment of dissolution. As members of our institution, on a former occasion, we appealed to Heaven and our own hearts for the purity of our intentions. Our fellow citizens will witness, that the conduct of the officers and foldiers of the late American armies has not been less patriotic in peace than it was glorious in war.

A good constitution was the object for which we risked our lives, and experienced unparalleled difficulties. We are happy in the conviction that our views are answered in the present government of the United States. While we applaud the wisdom of our countrymen in placing you at the head of it, we pledge ourselves to support its administration with the remnants of lives long since devoted to the public service.

We need not enumerate your titles to the gratitude of your country ; or echo, in the suffrages of our particular constituents, the public sentiment. But we may say, that we see with exultation our countrymen beginning to reap the fruits of Independence under the auspices of the person, who was more instrumental than any other in its establishment. May you, as a reward for your services, enjoy length of days, and every temporal blessing,



and may such blessings be a prelude to everlasting felicity.

*Signed in behalf of the General Meeting,*

T. MIFFLIN, Vice-President General.  
Attest, H. KNOX, Secretary General.

*Philadelphia, May 4, 1790.*

## ANSWER.

*To the Delegates of the State Societies of the Cincinnati, lately assembled at their Triennial Meeting.*

GENTLEMEN,

**A**LTHOUGH it is easier for you to conceive, than for me to explain the pleasing sensations which have been excited in my breast, by your congratulations on my appointment to the head of this rising republic; yet I must take the liberty to thank you sincerely for the polite manner in which you felicitate our countrymen, and testify your regard to me, on this occasion.

In addition to that reward for your sufferings and services which arises from the consciousness of having done your duty, you have erected monuments more expressive of your merits than even the universal applause of your country, in the establishment of its independence and sovereignty. Nor should any possible circumstances of poverty or ad-

verity compel you to give up that sweet satisfaction for the part you have acted, which ought to attend you as well through the vicissitudes of life as in the moment of dissolution.

THE candor of your fellow citizens acknowledges the patriotism of your conduct in peace, as their gratitude has declared their obligations for your fortitude and perseverance in war; a knowledge that they now do justice to the purity of your intentions ought to be your highest consolation, as the fact is demonstrative of your greatest glory.

THE object for which your gallantry encountered every danger, and your virtue sustained unparalleled difficulties, has happily been attained. A government, promising protection and prosperity to the people of the United States, is established; and its operations hitherto have been such as to justify the most sanguine expectations of further success. It was naturally to be expected, that lives which had long since been devoted on the altar of freedom, could never be offered at the shrines of anarchy or despotism; and the offer which you make of the residue of those lives to support the administration of this government, is not less a proof of its excellence, than an encouragement for those concerned in its execution to use their best endeavors to make it a source of extensive and permanent blessings to their country.

WHATEVER titles my military services may have given me to the regard of my country, they are principally corroborated by the firm support of my brave and faithful associates in the field. And, if

any consideration is to be attributed to the successful exercise of my civil duties, it proceeds, in a great measure, from the wisdom of the laws, and the facility which the disposition of my fellow citizens has given to their administration.

To the most affectionate wishes for your temporal happiness, I add a fervent prayer for your eternal felicity.

G. WASHINGTON.

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## ADDRESS

*Of the Ministers and Elders of the German Reformed Congregations in the United States, at their General Meeting, held at Philadelphia, to the President of the United States.*

SIR,

**W**HILST the infinite goodness of Almighty God, in his gracious Providence over the people of the United States of America, calls for our sincerest and most cordial gratitude to him that ruleth supremely, and ordereth all things in Heaven and on earth in unerring wisdom and righteousness; the happy, the peaceable establishment of the new government, over which you so deservedly preside, cannot fail but inspire our souls with new and the most lively emotions of adoration, praise and thanksgiving unto his holy name.

As it is our most firm purpose to support in our persons a government founded in justice and equity, so it shall be our constant duty to impress the minds of the people entrusted to our care, with a due sense of the necessity of uniting reverence to such a government and obedience to its laws, with the duties and exercise of religion. Thus we hope, by the blessing of God, to be in some measure instrumental of alleviating the burden of that weighty and important charge, to which you have been called by the unanimous voice of your fellow citizens, and which your love to your country has constrained you to take upon you.

DEEPLY possessed of a sense of the goodness of God in the appointment of your person to the high station in the national government, we shall continue, in our public worship and all our devotions before the throne of grace, to pray that it may please God to bless you in your person, your family, and your government, with all temporal and spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus.

*Signed by order of the meeting,*

W. HENDEL, p. t. Præses.

F. DELLIKER, p. t. Scriba.



## ANSWER.

*To the Ministers and Elders of the German Reformed  
Congregations in the United States.*

GENTLEMEN,

**I** AM happy in concurring with you in the sentiments of gratitude and piety towards Almighty God, which are expressed with such fervency of devotion in your address; and in believing that I shall always find in you and the German Reformed Congregations in the United States, a conduct correspondent to such worthy and pious expressions.

At the same time I return you my thanks for the manifestation of your firm purpose to support in your persons a government founded in justice and equity; and for the promise that it will be your constant study to impress the minds of the people entrusted to your care, with a due sense of the necessity of uniting reverence to such a government, and obedience to its laws, with the duties and exercises of religion. Be assured, gentlemen, it is by such conduct, very much in the power of the virtuous members of the community to alleviate the burden of the important office which I have accepted, and to give me occasion to rejoice in this world, for having followed therein the dictates of my conscience.

Be pleased also to accept my acknowledgments for the interests you so kindly take in the prosperity of my person, family, and administration. May your devotions before the throne of grace be preva-

lent in calling down the blessings of Heaven upon yourselves and your country.

G. WASHINGTON.

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## ADDRESS

*Of the Ministers, Church Wardens and Vestrymen  
of the German Lutheran Congregation, in and near  
the City of Philadelphia, to the President of the  
United States.*

SIR,

IT is with inexpressible satisfaction, that we, the Ministers, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of the German Lutheran Congregation, in and near the city of Philadelphia, address your Excellency on the present great occasion. The entire esteem, the exalted consideration with which we view your character, delightfully combine with the duty we owe to this our country, and the love we bear to every fellow citizen throughout these states, in exciting us to announce the joy we entertain on your appointment to the station of President in Chief.

THE affairs of America, in which your excellency bore so illustrious a part from the very beginning of a most arduous contest—all along exhibited more than the symptoms of a great and general prosperity to be at length completed. The most clouded portions of our time were not without some rays of hope; and numerous occurrences, through the

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blessings of Divine Providence, were brilliant and eminently fortunate. The present happy crisis sheds a lustre on the past events of our union, and it seems to be the presage of every thing desirable to come. Pleasingly do we anticipate the blessings of a wise, efficient government—equal freedom—perfect safety—a sweet contentment spreading through the whole land—irreproachable manners with pure religion, and that righteousness which exalteth a nation. Though as individuals we can be but very little known to you, yet as representatives, in some respect, of a numerous people in this city; and being so situated as to know well the minds of our German brethren nearly through this state, we can with some propriety come forward in this manner. It is therefore with assurance and pleasure we affirm, that there is no body of people whatsoever, that can or ever shall exceed those with whom we are connected, in affection for your person, and confidence in your abilities, patriotism and distinguished goodness. You are the MAN of their bosoms and veneration. On this ground may we be entitled to some excuse for what might seem to be an intrusion in the midst of your numerous weighty engagements. And here permit us to subjoin, that we shall never cease to address the throne of grace, with the same warmth and sincerity of heart for your present and everlasting happiness, as for our own.

## ANSWER.

*To the Ministers, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of  
the German Lutheran Congregation, in and near  
the City of Philadelphia.*

GENTLEMEN,

**W**HILE I request you to accept my thanks for your kind address, I must profess myself highly gratified by the sentiments of esteem and consideration contained in it. The approbation my past conduct has received from so worthy a body of citizens as that whose joy for my appointment you announce, is a proof of the indulgence with which my future transactions will be judged by them.

I COULD not, however, avoid apprehending, that the partiality of my countrymen in favor of the measures now pursued, had led them to expect too much from the present government; did not the same Providence which has been visible in every stage of our progress to this interesting crisis, from a combination of circumstances, give us cause to hope for the accomplishment of all our reasonable desires.

THUS partaking with you in the pleasing anticipation of the blessings of a wise and efficient government, I flatter myself that opportunities will not be wanting for me to shew my disposition to encourage the domestic and public virtues of industry, economy, patriotism, philanthropy, and that righteousness which exalteth a nation.



I REJOICE in having so suitable an occasion to testify the reciprocity of my esteem for the numerous people whom you represent. From the excellent character for diligence, sobriety and virtue, which the Germans in general, who are settled in America, have ever maintained; I cannot forbear felicitating myself on receiving from so respectable a number of them, such strong assurances of their affection for my person, confidence in my integrity, and zeal to support me in my endeavors for promoting the welfare of our common country.

So long as my conduct shall merit the approbation of the wise and the good, I hope to hold the same place in your affections, which your friendly declarations induce me to believe I possess at present; and amidst all the vicissitudes that may await me in this mutable existence, I shall earnestly desire the continuation of an interest in your intercession at the throne of grace.

G. WASHINGTON.

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## ADDRESS

*Of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church  
to the President of the United States.*

SIR,

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America, embrace the earliest opportunity in their power, to

testify the lively and unfeigned pleasure which they, with the rest of their fellow citizens, feel on your appointment to the first office in the nation.

WE adore Almighty God, the author of every perfect gift, who hath endued you with such a rare and happy assemblage of talents, as hath rendered you equally necessary to your country in war and in peace.

YOUR military achievements ensured safety and glory to America, in the late arduous conflict for freedom; while your disinterested conduct, and uniformly just discernment of the public interest, gained you the entire confidence of the people. And in the present interesting period of public affairs, the influence of your personal character moderates the divisions of political parties, and promises a permanent establishment of the civil government.

FROM a retirement more glorious to you than thrones and sceptres, you have been called to your present elevated station, by the voice of a great and free people; and with an unanimity of suffrage that has few if any examples in history. A man more ambitious of fame, or less devoted to his country, would have refused an office in which his honors could not be augmented, and where they might possibly be subject to a reverse.

WE are happy that God hath inclined your heart to give yourself once more to the public. And we derive a favorable presage of the event from the zeal of all classes of the people, and their confidence in your virtues; as well as from the knowledge and

dignity with which the federal councils are filled. But we derive a presage even more flattering from the piety of your character. Public virtue is the most certain mean of public felicity, and religion is the surest basis of virtue. We therefore esteem it a peculiar happiness to behold in our chief magistrate a steady, uniform, avowed friend of the Christian religion; who has commenced his administration in rational and exalted sentiments of piety, and who, in his private conduct, adorns the doctrines of the gospel of Christ; and on the most public and solemn occasions devoutly acknowledges the government of Divine Providence.

THE example of distinguished characters will ever possess powerful and extensive influence on the public mind; and when we see, in such a conspicuous station, the amiable example of piety to God, of benevolence to men, and of a pure and virtuous patriotism, we naturally hope that it will diffuse its influence, and that eventually the most happy consequences will result from it. To the force of imitation we will endeavor to add the wholesome instructions of religion. We shall consider ourselves as doing an acceptable service to God in our profession, when we contribute to render men sober, honest, and industrious citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government. In these pious labors, we hope to imitate the most worthy of our brethren of other Christian denominations, and to be imitated by them; assured, that if we can, by mutual and generous emulation, promote truth and virtue, we shall render essential service to the Republic; we shall receive encouragement from every

wife and good citizen, and above all, meet the approbation of our Divine Master.

WE pray Almighty God to have you always in his holy keeping. May he prolong your valuable life, an ornament and a blessing to your country; and at last bestow on you the glorious reward of a faithful servant.

*Signed by order of the General Assembly.*

JOHN RODGERS, Moderator.

*Philadelphia, May 26, 1789.*

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## A N S W E R.

*To the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church  
in the United States of America.*

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE, with great sensibility, the testimonial given by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, of the lively and unfeigned pleasure experienced by them, on my appointment to the first office in the nation.

ALTHOUGH it will be my endeavor to avoid being elated, by the too favorable opinion which your kindness for me may have induced you to express of the importance of my former conduct, and the effect of my future services: yet, conscious of the



disinterestedness of my motives, it is not necessary for me to conceal the satisfaction I have felt upon finding that my compliance with the call of my country, and my dependence on the assistance of Heaven to support me in my arduous undertakings, have, so far as I can learn, met the universal approbation of my countrymen.

WHILE I reiterate the professions of my dependence upon Heaven, as the source of all public and private blessings ; I will observe, that the general prevalence of piety, philanthropy, honesty, industry and economy seems, in the ordinary course of human affairs, particularly necessary for advancing and confirming the happiness of our country. While all men within our territories are protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of their consciences ; it is rationally to be expected from them in return, that they will all be emulous of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by the innocence of their lives and the beneficence of their actions. For no man who is profligate in his morals, or a bad member of the civil community, can possibly be a true Christian or a credit to his own religious society.

I DESIRE you to accept my acknowledgments for your laudable endeavors to render men sober, honest and good citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government ; as well as for your prayers to Almighty God for his blessing on our common country, and the humble instrument which he has been pleased to make use of in the administration of its government.

G. WASHINGTON.

## ADDRESS

*Of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to  
the President of the United States.*

SIR,

**W**E, the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, humbly beg leave, in the name of our society collectively, in these United States, to express to you the warm feelings of our hearts, and our sincere congratulations on your appointment to the presidency of these states. We are conscious, from the signal proofs you have already given, that you are a friend of mankind; and, under this established idea, place as full a confidence in your wisdom and integrity, for the preservation of those civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of God and the glorious revolution, as we believe ought to be reposed in man.

WE have received the most grateful satisfaction from the humble and entire dependence on the great Governor of the Universe, which you have repeatedly expressed, acknowledging Him the source of every blessing, and particularly of the most excellent constitution of these states, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great exemplar for imitation. And hence we enjoy a holy expectation, that you will always prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion—the grand end of our creation and present probationary existence. And we promise you our fervent prayers to the throne of grace, that God Almighty may endue you with all the graces

and gifts of his Holy Spirit, that may enable you to fill up your important station to his glory, the good of his church, the happiness and prosperity of the United States, and the welfare of mankind.

*Signed in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

THOMAS COKE,  
FRANCIS ASBURY.

*New-York, May 29, 1789.*

## ANSWER.

*To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America.*

GENTLEMEN,

**I** RETURN to you individually, and (through you) to your society collectively, in the United States, my thanks, for the demonstration of affection, and the expressions of joy, offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall still be my endeavor to manifest the purity of my inclinations, for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power towards the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the American people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope, by the assistance of Divine Providence, not altogether to disappoint the confidence which you have been pleased to repose in me.

It always affords me satisfaction, when I find a concurrence in sentiment and practice between all

conscientious men, in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the universe, and in professions of support to a just civil government. After mentioning that, I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced, that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion; I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part the promise you make of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me, and that I likewise implore the divine benedictions on yourselves and your religious community.

G. WASHINGTON.

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## ADDRESS

*Of the First Presbytery of the Eastward, to George Washington, President of the United States.*

SIR,

"WE, the Ministers and ruling Elders, delegated to represent the churches in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, which compose the first Presbytery of the Eastward, now holding a stated session in this town, beg leave to approach your presence with genuine feelings of the deepest veneration and highest esteem.

"IN unison with rejoicing millions, we felicitate our country, and ourselves, on your unanimous election to the highest office a nation can bestow;



and on your acceptance of the trust, with every evidence which a citizen can give, of being actuated thereto by the purest principles of patriotism, of piety, and of self-denial.

“GREAT was the joy of our hearts to see the late tedious and destructive war at length terminated, in a fair and honorable peace—to see the liberty and independence of our country happily secured—to see wise constitutions of civil government peaceably established in the several states—and especially to see a confederation of them all, finally agreed on by the general voice.

“BUT, amid all our joys, we ever contemplated with regret the want of efficiency in the federal government; we ardently wished for a form of *national union*, which should draw the cord of amity more closely around the several states; which should concentrate their interests, and reduce the freemen of America to one great body, ruled by one head, and animated by one soul.

“AND NOW we devoutly offer our humble tribute of praise and thanksgiving, to the all-gracious Father of Lights, who has inspired our public councils with a wisdom and firmness which have effected that desirable purpose, in so great a measure, by the national constitution; and who has fixed the eyes of all America on you, as the worthiest of their citizens, to be entrusted with the execution of it.

“WHATEVER any have supposed wanting in the original plan, we are happy to see so wisely providing in its amendments: and it is with peculiar

satisfaction that we behold how easily the entire confidence of the people, in the man who sits at the helm of government, has eradicated every remaining objection to its form.

“AMONG these we never considered the want of a religious test, that grand engine of persecution in every tyrant's hand: but, we should not have been alone in rejoicing, to have seen some explicit acknowledgment of the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, inserted, somewhere, in the Magna Charta of our country.

“UNDER the nurturing hand of a ruler of such virtues, and one so deservedly revered by all ranks, we joyfully indulge the hope, that virtue and religion will revive and flourish; that infidelity, and the vices ever attendant in its train, will be banished every polite circle; and that national piety will soon become fashionable there, and from thence be diffused among all ranks in the community.”

*Newbury Port, Oct. 28, 1789.*

## ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

THE affectionate welcome, which you are pleased to give me to the eastern parts of the Union, would leave me without excuse, did I fail to acknowledge the sensibility which it awakens, and to express the most sincere return that a grateful sense of your goodness can suggest.

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To be approved by the praise-worthy, is a wish as natural to becoming ambition as its consequence is flattering to our self love.

I AM, indeed, much indebted to the favorable sentiments which you entertain towards me, and it will be my study to deserve them.

THE tribute of thanksgiving, which you offer to the gracious Father of Lights, for his inspiration of our public councils with wisdom and firmness to complete the national constitution, is worthy of men, who, devoted to the pious purposes of religion, desire their accomplishment by such means as advance the temporal happiness of their fellow men. And here, I am persuaded, you will permit me to observe, that the path of true piety is so plain as to require but little political direction,

To this consideration we ought to ascribe the absence of any regulation respecting religion from the Magna Charta of our country. To the guidance of the ministers of the Gospel, this important object is, perhaps, more properly committed. It will be your care to instruct the ignorant, and to reclaim the devious: and in the progress of morality and science, to which our government will give every furtherance, we may confidently expect the advancement of true religion, and the completion of our happiness.

I PRAY the munificent Rewarder of virtue, that your agency in this good work may receive its compensation here and hereafter.

G. WASHINGTON.

## ADDRESS

*Of the Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, in North America, to George Washington, President of the United States.*

SIR,

**T**HE Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church in North America, embrace the occasion of their annual session, being the first since your appointment, to present you their sincere congratulations, and to join in that great and general joy testified by all descriptions of citizens on your acceptance of the highest office in the nation.

We cannot forbear expressing our gratitude to God for preserving your valuable life amidst so many dangers till this time; for inspiring you with a large portion of the martial spirit, and forming you also for the milder and more agreeable arts of government and peace; for endowing you with great virtues, and calling them into exercise by great events; for distinguishing you with honors, and giving you remarkable prudence and moderation; and for making your extraordinary talents the more conspicuous, useful and durable, by superinducing the noble ornament of humility. Your country has, with one voice, attested your excellence by inviting you again to public life, and you have confirmed its judgment by returning to fresh scenes and toils after you had retired to the shade from the burden and heat of a long day.



AMONG the many signal interpositions of Divine Providence, we remark the late important change in the general government; a change neither effected by accident, nor imposed by force; but adopted in the bosom of peace, after a free and mature deliberation; and in which a people widely extended, and various in their habits, are united beyond the most raised expectations. In these respects the United States of America stand single among all the nations of the earth. Other revolutions may have been more diversified and splendid, but none more honorable to human nature, and none so likely to produce such happy effects. This government being now completely organized, and all its departments filled, we trust that God will give wisdom to its councils, and justice to its administration; and that we shall at length realize those blessings which animated our hopes through a difficult and ruinous war.

To our constant prayers for the welfare of our country, and of the whole human race, we shall esteem it our duty and happiness, to unite our earnest endeavors to promote the pure and undefiled religion of Christ; for as this secures eternal felicity to men in a future state, so we are persuaded that good Christians will always be good citizens, and that where righteousness prevails among individuals, the nation will be great and happy. Thus, while just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support.

WE implore the Lord God to be your sun and shield. May your administration be prosperous. May the blessings of millions come upon you, and

your name be grateful to all posterity. Above all, may you finish your course with joy, be numbered among the redeemed of the Lord, and enter into everlasting rest.

*In the Name and by the Order of the Synod,*

JOHN H. LIVINGSTON,  
WILLIAM LINN,  
GERARDUS A. KUYPERS,  
PETER LOUW,  
DIRCK LEFFERTS,  
ISAAC ROSEVELT,  
RICHARD VARICK,  
HENRY ROOME.

*New-York, October 9, 1789.*

## A N S W E R

*To the Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church in North America.*

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE with a grateful heart your pious and affectionate Address; and with truth declare to you that no circumstance of my life has affected me more sensibly, or produced more pleasing emotions than the friendly congratulations and strong assurances of support which I have received from my fellow citizens of all descriptions, upon my election to the Presidency of these United States.

I FEAR, Gentlemen, your goodness has led you to form too exalted an opinion of my virtues and merits. If such talents as I possess have been called into action by great events, and those events have terminated happily for our country, the glory should be ascribed to the manifest interposition of an overruling Providence. My military services have been abundantly recompensed by the flattering approbation of a grateful people; and if a faithful discharge of my civil duties can ensure a like reward, I shall feel myself richly compensated for any personal sacrifice I may have made, by engaging again in public life.

THE citizens of the United States of America have given as signal a proof of their wisdom and virtue in framing and adopting a constitution of government without bloodshed or the intervention of force, as they, upon a former occasion, exhibited to the world of their valor, fortitude, and perseverance; and it must be a pleasing circumstance to every friend of good order and social happiness, to find that our new government is gaining strength and respectability among the citizens of this country, in proportion as its operations are known and its effects felt.

You, Gentlemen, act the part of pious Christians and good citizens, by your prayers and exertions to preserve that harmony and good will among men, which must be the basis of every political establishment; and I readily join with you, that "while just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support."



I AM deeply impressed with your good wishes for my present and future happiness; and I beseech the Almighty to take you under his special care.

G. WASHINGTON.

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## ADDRESS

*Of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, in General Convention Assembled, to the President of the United States.*

SIR,

WE, the Bishops, the Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, in General Convention assembled, beg leave, with the highest veneration and the most animated national considerations, at the earliest moment in our power, to express our cordial joy on your election to the chief magistracy of the United States.

WHEN we contemplate the short but eventful history of our nation—when we recollect the series of essential services performed by you in the course of the revolution, the temperate, yet efficient exertion of the mighty powers with which the nature of the contest made it necessary to invest you—and especially when we remember the voluntary and mag-



unanimous relinquishment of those high authorities at the moment of peace—we anticipate the happiness of our country under your future administration.

BUT it was not alone from a successful and virtuous use of those extraordinary powers that you were called from your honorable retirement, to the first dignities of our government. An affectionate admiration of your private character, the impartiality, the persevering fortitude, and the energy with which your public duties have been invariably performed, and the paternal solicitude for the happiness of the American people, together with the wisdom and consummate knowledge of our affairs, manifested in your last military communication, have directed to your name the *universal wish*, and have produced, for the first time in the history of mankind, an example of *unanimous consent* in the appointment of the governor of a free and enlightened nation.

To these considerations, inspiring us with the most pleasing expectations, as private citizens, permit us to add, that as the representatives of a numerous and extended church, we most thankfully rejoice in the election of a civil ruler deservedly beloved, and eminently distinguished among the friends of genuine religion, who has happily united a tender regard for other churches with an inviolable attachment to his own.

WITH unfeigned satisfaction we congratulate you on the establishment of the new Constitution of government for the United States; the mild, yet

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efficient operations of which, we confidently trust, will remove every remaining apprehension of those, with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, and will confirm the hopes of its numerous friends. Nor do these expectations appear too sanguine, when the moderation, patriotism, and wisdom of the honorable members of the federal legislature are duly considered.

FROM a body thus eminently qualified, harmoniously co-operating with the executive authority in constitutional concert, we confidently hope for the restoration of order and our ancient virtues; the extension of genuine religion, and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home.

WE devoutly implore the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to preserve you long in health and prosperity, an animating example of all public and private virtues—the friend and guardian of a free, enlightened, and grateful people; and that you may finally receive the reward which will be given to those, whose lives have been spent in promoting the happiness of mankind.

## ANSWER.

*To the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the states of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, in General Convention assembled.*

GENTLEMEN,

**I** SINCERELY thank you for your affectionate congratulations, on my election to the Chief Magistracy of the United States.

AFTER having received from my fellow citizens in general the most liberal treatment—after having found them disposed to contemplate, in the most flattering point of view, the performance of my military services, and the manner of my retirement at the close of the war, I feel that I have a right to console myself, in my present arduous undertakings, with a hope that they will still be inclined to put the most favorable constructions on the motives which may influence me in my future public transactions.

THE satisfaction arising from the indulgent opinion entertained by the American people of my conduct, will, I trust, be some security for preventing me from doing any thing which might justly incur the forfeiture of that opinion. And the consideration that human happiness and moral duty are inseparably connected, will always continue to prompt me to promote the progress of the former, by inculcating the practice of the latter.



ON this occasion, it will ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fraternal affection which appears to increase every day among the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying prospects indeed, to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other nation.

I RECEIVE with the greater satisfaction your congratulations on the establishment of the new Constitution of Government, because I believe its mild, yet efficient operations, will tend to remove every remaining apprehension of those with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, as well as to confirm the hopes of its numerous friends; and because the moderation, patriotism, and wisdom of the present federal legislature, seem to promise the restoration of order and our ancient virtues; the extension of genuine religion, and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home.

I REQUEST, most reverend and respected Gentlemen, that you will accept my cordial thanks for your devout supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe in behalf of me. May you, and the people whom you represent, be the happy subjects of the Divine benedictions both here and hereafter.

G. WASHINGTON.



## ADDRESS

*Of the Religious Society of Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Delaware and the Western Parts of Maryland and Virginia, to the President of the United States.*

## RESPECTED FRIEND,

**B**EING met in this our annual assembly, for the well ordering the affairs of our religious society, and the promotion of universal righteousness, our minds have been drawn to consider, that the Almighty, who ruleth in Heaven and in the kingdoms of men, having permitted a great revolution to take place in the government of this country; we are fervently concerned that the Rulers of the people may be favored with the counsel of God, the only sure means of enabling them to fulfil the important trust committed to their charge; and in an especial manner, that divine wisdom and grace, vouchsafed from above, may qualify thee to fill up the duties of the exalted station to which thou art appointed.

WE are sensible thou hast obtained great place in the esteem and affections of people of all denominations over whom thou presidest; and many eminent talents being committed to thy trust, we much desire they may be fully devoted to the Lord's honor and service—that thus thou mayest be an happy instrument in his hand, for the suppression of vice, infidelity and irreligion, and every species of oppression on the persons or consciences of men, so that righteousness and peace which truly exalteth a

nation, may prevail throughout the land, as the only solid foundation that can be laid for the prosperity and happiness of this or any country.

THE free toleration which the citizens of these states enjoy in the public worship of the Almighty, agreeably to the dictates of their consciences, we esteem among the choicest of blessings; and as we desire to be filled with fervent charity for those who differ from us in matters of faith and practice, believing that the general assembly of saints is composed of the sincere and upright hearted of all nations, kingdoms and people—so, we trust, we may justly claim it from others; and in a full persuasion that the divine principle we profess, leads unto harmony and concord, we can take no part in carrying on war on any occasion, or under any power, but are bound in conscience to lead quiet and peaceable lives, in godliness and honesty, amongst men, contributing freely our proportion to the indigencies of the poor, and to the necessary support of civil government, acknowledging those that rule well to be worthy of double honor; and if any professing with us, are or have been of a contrary disposition or conduct, we own them not therein, having never been chargeable, from our first establishment as a religious society, with fomenting or countenancing tumults or conspiracies, or disrespect to those who are placed in authority over us.

We wish not improperly to intrude on thy time or patience, nor is it our practice to offer adulation to any; but as we are a people whose principles and conduct have been misrepresented and traduced, we take the liberty to assure thee, that we feel our

hearts affectionately drawn towards thee and those in authority over us, with prayers that thy presidency may, under the blessing of Heaven, be happy to thyself and to the people; and through the encrease of morality and true religion, divine Providence may condescend to look down upon our land with a propitious eye, and bless the inhabitants with the continuance of peace, the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the earth; and enable us gratefully to acknowledge his manifold mercies; and it is our earnest concern, that he may be pleased to grant thee every necessary qualification to fill thy weighty and important station to his glory, and that finally, when all terrestrial honors shall fail and pass away, thou and thy respectable consort may be found worthy to receive a crown of unfading righteousness in the mansions of peace and joy forever.

*Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting, held in Philadelphia by adjournments, from the 28th of the 9th month, to the third day of the 10th month, inclusive, 1789.*

RICHARD WALN, Clerk.



## A N S W E R.

*To the Religious Society of Quakers, convened at their Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Delaware, and the Western Parts of Maryland and Virginia.*

GENTLEMEN,

**I** RECEIVE with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes which you express for the success of my administration and for my personal happiness.

WE have reason to rejoice in the prospect, that the national government which by the favor of divine Providence was formed by the common councils, and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them; to render it such, my best endeavors shall not be wanting. Government being among other purposes instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers not only to abstain from it themselves, but according to their stations to prevent it in others.

THE liberty enjoyed by the people of these States of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety expect or demand, and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion or mode of faith which they may



prefer or profess. Your principles and conduct are well known to me, and it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say, that (except their declining to share with others the burthens of the common defence) there is no denomination among us who are more exemplary and useful citizens. I assure you very explicitly, that in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit.

G. WASHINGTON.

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## ADDRESS

*Of the Roman Catholics to George Washington, President of the United States.*

SIR,

**W**E have been long impatient to testify our joy and unbounded confidence on your being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station of a country, in which that unanimity could not have been obtained without the previous merit of unexampled services, of eminent wisdom, and unblemished virtue. Our congratulations have not reached you sooner, because our scattered situation prevented the communication and the collecting of those sentiments, which warmed every breast. But the delay has furnished us with the opportunity, not

merely of presaging the happiness to be expected under your administration, but of bearing testimony to that which we experience already. It is your peculiar talent, in war and in peace, to afford security to those, who commit their protection into your hands. In war, you shield them from the ravages of armed hostility: in peace, you establish public tranquillity, by the justice and moderation, not less than by the vigor of your government. By example as well as by vigilance, you extend the influence of laws on the manners of our fellow citizens. You encourage respect for religion, and inculcate by words and actions, that principle on which the welfare of nations so much depends, that a superintending Providence governs the events of the world, and watches over the conduct of men. Your exalted maxims, and unwearied attention to the moral and physical improvement of our country have produced already the happiest effects. Under your administration, America is animated with zeal for the attainment and encouragement of useful literature; she improves her agriculture, extends her commerce, and acquires with foreign nations a dignity unknown to her before. From these happy events, in which none can feel a warmer interest than ourselves, we derive additional pleasure by recollecting that you, sir, have been the principal instrument to effect so rapid a change in our political situation. This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under

your auspicious conduct ; rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships. When we pray for the preservation of them, where they have been granted ; and expect the full extension of them from the justice of those states which still restrict them ; when we solicit the protection of Heaven over our common country, we neither omit, or can omit recommending your preservation to the singular care of Divine Providence ; because we conceive that no human means are so available to promote the welfare of the United States, as the prolongation of your health and life, in which are included the energy of your example, the wisdom of your counsels, and the persuasive eloquence of your virtues.

*In behalf of the Roman Catholic Clergy,*

J. CARROLL.

*In behalf of the Roman Catholic Laity,*

CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton,  
DANIEL CARROLL,  
THOMAS FITSIMONS,  
DOMINICK LYNCH,



## ANSWER.

*To the Roman Catholics in the United States of  
America.*

GENTLEMEN,

**W**HILE I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station in my country—I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating the benefits of the general government, you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony of the encrease of the public prosperity, enhances the pleasure which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

I FEEL that my conduct in war and in peace, has met with more general approbation than could reasonably have been expected; and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance in a great degree resulting from the able support and extraordinary candor of my fellow citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of a Divine Providence, the protection of a good government, and the cultivation of man-



ners, morals, and piety, cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence, in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more liberal they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government: or, the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.

I THANK you, Gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavor to justify the favorable sentiments which you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

G. WASHINGTON.

## EULOGY

ON THE LIFE OF

GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON,

*Written at the request of the citizens of Newburyport, and delivered  
January 2d, 1800.*

BY THOMAS PAINE, A. M.

" Oh ! for a muse of fire, that would ascend  
The brightest heaven of invention !  
An empire for a stage, heroes to act,  
And angels to behold the swelling scene !  
Then should the *mighty dead* again assume  
His local habitation, and his name,  
Mantling our sphere with his supernal glory !  
Virtue and Fame should pioneer his way  
Thro' planets wonder-struck ; while at his heels  
Valor and Victory (leashed in like hounds)  
Crouch for employment !"

AMERICANS,

THE Saviour of your country has obtained his last victory. Having reached the summit of human perfection, he has quitted the region of human glory. *Conqueror of time*, he has triumphed over mortality ; *legate of Heaven*, he has returned with the tidings of his mission ; *father of his people*, he has ascended to advocate their cause in the bosom of his God. Solemn, " as it were a pause in

nature," was his transit to eternity—thronged by the shades of heroes, his approach to the confines of bliss—pæaned by the song of angles, his journey beyond the stars !

THE voice of a grateful and afflicted people has pronounced the eulogium of their departed hero—*"First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."* That this exalted tribute is justly due to his memory, the scar-honored veteran, who has fought under the banner of his glory, the enraptured statesman, who has bowed to the dominion of his eloquence, the hardy cultivator, whose soil has been defended by the prodigies of his valor, the protected citizen, whose peaceful rights have been secured by the vigilance of his wisdom ; yea, every fibre, that can vibrate in the heart of an American, will attest with agonized sensibility.

BORN to direct the destiny of empires, his character was as majestic, as the events to which it was attached, were illustrious. In the delineation of its features, the vivid pencil of Genius cannot brighten a trait, nor the blighting breath of Calumny obscure. His principles were the result of organic philosophy, his success of moral justice. His integrity assumed the port of command, his intelligence the aspect of inspiration. Glory, to many impregnable, he obtained without ambition—popularity, to all inconstant, he enjoyed without jealousy. The one was his from admiration, the other from gratitude. The former embellished, but could not reward ; the latter followed, but never could lead him. The robust vigor of his virtue, like the undazzled eye of the Eagle, was inaccessible to human

weakness ; and the un aspiring temperament of his passions, like the regenerating ashes of the Phoenix, gave new life to the greatness it could not extinguish. In the imperial dignity of his person, was exhibited the august stature of his mind :

“ See what a grace was seated on his brow,  
An eye like Mars, the front of Jove himself,  
A combination, and a form indeed,  
Where every God did seem to set his seal,  
To give the world assurance of a man !”

SHAKESPEARE.

OPPRESSED by the disconsolate sensibilities, which this melancholy occasion has excited ; yet inspired by a veneration, which no sense of calamity can suspend, how shall the feeble eulogist of the moment retrace the path of the hero through the rugged acclivities of his fame—how shadow the outlines of a life, whose influence on society has baffled the imitation of the wise—how define the great proportion of a character, which, like the electric principle, can only be described by its effects ? What wing of human description shall soar to the unclouded height of his talents, what chemistry of human judgment shall separate the elements of his virtues ? The magnificence of his deeds has outvied the heraldry of fancy—and the purity of his motives has bewildered the deduction of reason.

FROM his appearance on the theatre of public life, ere the modest simplicity of enterprize had invited the decorations of artificial honor, ere the “ hair breadth escapes” of the *Monongahela* had elicited the native energies of heroism, to the maturest æra of his excellence, when Victory had



nothing left to bestow, and Fame herself had despaired of rendering to his merits, their equivalent reward, we behold the same undeviating course of magnanimous action, rising, like the sun, in gradual and majestic progression. In no situation, to which the emergencies of his country have called him, however insulted with peril, or fortified by prosperity, do we at any time detect his invincible equanimity, modified by incident. In no climax of fortune do we behold him, dejected by obstacle, or elevated by success; desperate in danger, or sanguine in triumph. Deliberate to concert, he was vigorous to execute—intrepid to conquer, he was humane to forgive. In council, he united the calculations of the veteran, to the ruling impulse of the patriot: in battle, he never shed the blood of an enemy but for victory, nor gained a victory but for his country.

As the director of that important and dubious contest, which issued in the establishment of our liberty and independence, he displayed an impressive grandeur of exertion, which marshalled into hostility the fluctuating vigor of his countrymen, and is still remembered with awe in the astonishment of nations. To the rapacious cabinet of the mother country, which had recently learnt, in the disastrous campaign of *Braddock*, that her glory was mortal, he had given his name a formidable estimation by his military prowess on that memorable occasion. In the enjoyment of an ample paternal domain, he was reposing under the groves of fame and philosophy, when the chafed lion of New-England "leaped on the daring huntsman that had galled him," and boldly bade defiance to his power.

The dawn of our revolution was overshadowed with clouds that would have damped the ardor of any people, whose bosoms were not inspired by the uncontrollable enthusiasm of liberty. But what hope of success could this high born principle, though stimulated by injury, afford to the unwarlike peasantry of a country without arms, without discipline, without funds, without a leader, in contending with an empire, whose policy and valor had for centuries kept the nations of Europe in its toils? Yet, at this inauspicious juncture, when every prospect was enveloped with disaster, when unsuccessful opposition could promise no reward but aggravated oppression, when political infidelity had almost chilled with dismay the kindling fervor of Americans; at this moment, so portentous, so gloomy, did the calm, inflexible, unassimilating WASHINGTON, relinquish without reluctance the magnificent retirement of wealth and honor; and, committing to the hazard of the contest, the pleasures that allured him to seclusion, and the character that attached him to life, appealed to the God of armies to attest a soldiers oath—" *I will triumph, or die with my countrymen!*"—Animated by his guiding intelligence, America awoke to the consciousness of her powers; and, realizing the boast of the Roman hero, an army, organized by his creative discipline, arose at his command.

THROUGH the vicissitudes of a war, singularly fluctuating in its fortunes, and desolating in its effects, he discovered a constant principle of action, which acquired no lustre from the brilliant exploits it achieved, but derived all its glory from its own original greatness. Self-dependent, and self-ele-

vated, it disdained the fictitious aid of circumstance; and never did it shine with more splendor and energy, than when fortune had deserted him, and his country had despaired. The activity of a fortitude, whose stability was reason, invigorated the operations of an intellect, whose object was liberty. What but this invincible constitution of soul, whose gigantic philosophy always rose with the difficulties it encountered, could have sustained the drooping cause of an half-conquered people, at that momentous and almost hopeless crisis, when the banks of the Delaware were lined by a triumphant enemy, impatient for our subjugation; when the ranks of our brave defenders, thinned by battle, by famine and retreat, crimsoned their flying encampments with the blood of their footsteps; when the fate of a night, and a conspiracy of the elements opposed the progress of the eventful enterprise! The mind, that was inaccessible to despair, was invulnerable to disaster; and at the instant, when the fangs of our Invader were unclenched to fasten on its prey, when his pampered ambition was gloating on the spoils of unconditional submission, the distant thunder of the cannon at *Trenton*, aroused him from his dreams of dominion, and convinced him that the resources of a WASHINGTON were not to be computed by the extent of his entrenchments, nor his activity to be palsied by a campaign of disasters.

To the pen of the historian must be resigned the more arduous and elaborate tribute of justice to those efforts of heroic and political virtue, which conducted the American people to peace and liberty.—The vanquished foe retired from our respiring shores, and left to the *controlling Genius*, who repel-



led them, the gratitude of his own country, and the admiration of the world. The time had now arrived, which was to apply the touch-stone to his integrity—which was to assay the affinity of his principles to the standard of immutable right. Enjoying the unbounded confidence of an emancipated people, whose filial reverence had associated in his character, a greatness, unexampled by patriotism, with a purity, unfurrowed by suspicion, and commanding the implicit affections of an army of veterans, whose unliquidated demands; on the justice of an impoverished public, might have rendered them the zealous instruments of ambition—the deliverer of his country was now the arbiter of its fate. It was now the flood-tide of his glory, on which he had only to embark, and the current would have wasted him to his haven. That decisive moment in the existence of nations and men, on which the destinies of both are suspended, was now sitting on the dial's point of the crisis.—On the one hand, a realm, to which he was endeared by his services, almost invited him to empire: on the other, the liberty, to whose protection his life had been devoted, was the ornament and boon of human nature.—WASHINGTON could not depart from his own great self. His country was free;—he was no longer a general!—Sublime spectacle! more elevating to the pride of virtue, than the sovereignty of the globe united to the sceptre of ages! Enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen, the gorgeous pageantry of prerogative was unworthy the majesty of his dominion. That effulgence of military character, which in ancient states has blasted the rights of the people, whose renown it had brightened, was not *here* permitted, by the hero, from whom



it emanated, to shine with so destructive a lustre. Its beams, though intensely resplendent, did not wither the young blossoms of our independence; and liberty, like the *burning bush*, flourished unconsumed by the glory which surrounded it.

To the illustrious founder of our republic was it reserved, to exhibit the example of a magnanimity that commanded victory—of a moderation, that retired from triumph. Unlike the erratic meteors of ambition, whose flaming path shed a disastrous light on the pages of history, his bright orb, eclipsing the luminaries, among which it rolled, never portended “fearful change” to religion, nor from its “golden tresses” shook pestilence on empire. What to *other* heroes has been glory, would to *him* have been disgrace. To *his* intrepidity it would have added no honorary trophy, to have waded, like the conqueror of *Peru*, through the blood of credulous millions, to plant the standard of triumph at the burning mouth of a volcano! To *his* fame it would have erected no auxiliary monument to have invaded, like the ravager of *Egypt*, an innocent though barbarous nation, to inscribe his name on the pillar of *Pompey*!

SELF, the grand hinge, on which revolves the principles and passions, that have swelled the obituary of nations, made not an unit in the calculations of a mind, which considered grandeur as the inseparable incident of rectitude;—which owed to fortune nothing of its glory; to enthusiasm, nothing of its virtue. From “heaven’s high chancery” had issued his commission;—he created a nation! The glorious work completed, so was his ambition. The reward

of his labors was the enjoyment of that liberty he had protected from violation ; and the boast of his pride was the cultivation of that soil he had defended from subjection. Amidst the fondest caresses of fame, that pursued him to retirement—blush ye heroic murderers of mankind !—never did the transcendant WASHINGTON, on the pinnacle of his greatness, deign to be conscious, that by *his* talents his country was free—that in *her* glory himself was immortal !

PUBLIC opinion has in all ages been as volatile as the air that wafts it ; and the fate, which has attended the benefactors of their country, has been as chequered as the passions, and perverse as the ingratitude of man. A tyrant, fainted by the people he had enslaved, has been elevated to a niche in the Pantheon ; while a hero, whose talents and services had propped a falling empire, has found at last a more faithful friend in the mastiff that conducted him, than in the nation he had protected. But it has been the particular lot of a WASHINGTON, to unite to an integrity, which could impeach the ambition of malice, the vigilance of an enterprise, which could arrest the decisions of fortune. Through the long labors of a life, which forms an epoch in history, never for a moment was he rivalled in the affections of his countrymen ; and to the honor of Americans, be it recorded, that their gratitude to the man, who had established their independence, existed, at the period of impending anarchy, the only cementing bond of union, which preserved their jarring interests from a destructive collision.

THE temporary structure of the old confederation, which had been planned merely for the purposes of a revolutionary government, when the passions of the people were united, was found, upon a brief experiment, to be totally incompetent to direct the affairs of an extending nation, when peace had restored the complicated occupations of life, and demanded a more uniform protection from the energies of law. The inconveniences, resulting from its defects, had given occasion to designing demagogues, who hoped to profit by a separation of the states, to foment divisions among a people, who too lightly valued the blessings they enjoyed. The union of the country was in danger; and the evil was of too baneful a nature to admit of partial or dilatory remedy. But, how novel, how aspiring, was the hope of connecting, under one compact code of general jurisprudence, so many distinct sovereignties, each jealous of its independence, without impairing their respective authorities! The unbalanced bodies of the confederacy had almost overcome the attracting power, that restrained them; when the watchful guardian of his country's interests, the heart uniting WASHINGTON appeared, the political magnet in the centre of discord, and reconciled and consolidated the clashing particles of the system in an indissoluble union of government.

POSSESSING, as well from experience, as intuition, the master science, that could direct the impulses of human action—and invested, by the crowded benefactions of a life of glory, with a charm of eloquence, which impressed the convictions of reason on the pliant gratitude of his countrymen;—he



ruled in the councils of that august body of statesmen and patriots, the fruit of whose co-operating talents was the present constitution of America. By the unanimous suffrage of an enlightened and confiding people, appointed to the administration of a government, in whose construction he had exerted so beneficial an influence, he brought, to the execution of that important and arduous trust, the energy of a mind, whose elevation could borrow no dignity from station, and the integrity of a heart, whose sensibility could receive no bias but from his country. With what wisdom and vigor he discharged the hazardous and thronging duties of an incipient magistracy, the revival of political harmony, the extended confidence of commerce, the unexampled encrease of national credit and wealth, and the happiness and morality of the people, will furnish a more satisfactory evidence than the most brilliant description of the panegyrist. In this unprecedented transition of office, his character had assumed a new and astonishing attitude;—the impenetrable hardihood of the conqueror was rivalled by the intelligent policy of the statesman. Pierced by the glance of his administration, *Party*, like the recreant eye of the felon, shrunk abashed from his scrutiny;—and unnerved by the sanctity of his person, *Degeneracy*, like the viper at Melita, fell harmless from his hand. Appalled by the oppressive contemplation of his greatness, the cloud cap't crest of *Ambition* was overawed by the majesty of virtue;—and, maddened to desperation by the invulnerable purity of his life, the snakes of *Envy* recoiled upon the head of their mistress, and burrowed to the brain, that supplied their venom.



EXEMPLAR of Heroes! In what favored nation or æra, shall the exulting philanthropist record the existence of a character, uniting, like thine, in one bright constellation of talents, every civic and military glory, that blazons in legend, or beams in history? Should we search in the archives of classic antiquity, we might find a wise and venerable *Fabius*, who, like thee, could “save a nation by delay;” but never, like thee, could seize victory by enterprize, and outstride fortune by the foresight of philosophy!—We might behold the majestic *Cincinnatus*, who, like thee, in the vigor of Roman heroism, could return from the conquest of his country’s enemies, to his humble *Mount Vernon* beyond the *Tyber*;—but never like thee, to protect from faction the liberties he had wrested from invasion! We might trace the great *Julius*, extending the terror of his eagles, through realms, before unshadowed by their pinions; we might follow him to the forum, and listen to an eloquence, like thine, when applauding senates instinctively moved at his controul; but *where* in the map of *thy* victories, shall we find the banks of a *Rubicon*!

ENCUMBERED with honors, the Father of his country once more returned to the unambitious abodes of his affections, followed by the tears and blessings of his fellow citizens!—The glory, which had encircled the scenes of his action, could not be excluded by the solitude of retirement.—He had divested the insignia of command—but his empire was not diminished. He had surrendered the badges of fame—but the gaze of the world did not suspend its veneration. The name of WASHINGTON was still a battlement to his country, under whose

protection liberty exulted—at whose terrors hostility trembled.

THOUGH remote from the causes of European contest, yet affected by the convulsions it excited, in vain had our nation attempted to maintain with honor an unprotected neutrality. Piracy plundered the ocean;—Invasion threatened our shores. Again, were the eyes of America directed with trembling solicitude to her venerable deliverer; and, again did this *man without example, this patriot without reproach*, whose life was his country, whose glory was mankind, resign with alacrity, to the cause he had sworn to defend, the tranquil hope of repose, to which he had devoted the unclouded evening of a life of toils!—The character was perfect! WASHINGTON now touched “the highest point of all his greatness.” A more than human splendor surrounded him.—The ethereal spirit of his virtues towered above the globe they adorned, and seemed to meditate their departure to their native mansion. Of the frailty of man, nothing now remained but his mortality; and having accomplished the embassy of a benevolent Providence—having been the founder of one nation, and the sublime instructor of all—*He took his flight to Heaven*;—not like Mahomet, for his memory is immortal without the fiction of a miracle;—not like Elijah, for recording time has not registered the man, *on whom his mantle should descend*;—but in humble imitation of that *Omnipotent Architect*, who returned from a created universe, to contemplate from his throne the stupendous fabric he had erected!

THE august form, whose undaunted majesty could arrest the lightning, ere it fell on the bosom of his country, now sleeps in silent ruin, untenanted of its celestial essence. But the incorruptible example of his virtues shall survive, unimpaired by the corrosion of time, and acquire new vigor and influence, from the crimes of ambition, and the decay of empires. His invaluable valediction,\* bequeathed to the people, who inherited his affections, is the effort of a mind, whose powers, like those of prophecy, could overleap the tardy progress of human reason, and unfold truth without the labor of investigation. Impressed in indelible characters, this legacy of his intelligence will descend, unfulled as its purity, to the wonder and instruction of succeeding generations; and, should the mild philosophy of its maxims be ingrafted into the policy of nations, at no distant period will the departed hero, who now lives only in the spotless splendor of his own great actions, exist in the happiness and dignity of mankind.

THE sighs of cotemporary gratitude have attended the *Sublime Spirit* to its paternal abode, and the prayers of ameliorated posterity will ascend in glowing remembrance of their illustrious benefactor!—The laurels, that now droop as they shadow his tomb with monumental glory, will be cultivated by the tears of ages;—and, embalmed in the heart of an admiring world, the temple, erected to his memory, will be more glorious than the pyramids, and as eternal as his own *imperishable virtues*.

\* GEN. WASHINGTON'S address to the people of the United States on declining their future suffrages for the Presidency.



## EULOGY

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER,

OF THE LATE

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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*Written by a Member of the Senate of the United States.*

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COLUMBIA mourns ! her WASHINGTON  
is now no more on earth.

HER Father, Friend, and Patron, who ruled her councils, and who fought her battles, has departed hence, at death's *dread* call. And weeping nature wrapt in sadness, sickens at the thought. Yes, Columbia ! thou art mourning—and thou wilt mourn ! until the memory of his deeds, and the love of virtue are no more.

WHO, like WASHINGTON ! shall inspire thy sons with confidence ; guide thy Senates ; lead thy armies ; and uphold thy union ? that union ! which like himself, combines the social virtues, the manly affections, and all the noblest objects of the human soul. That union, whose dissolution, like that of



his, will not only afflict Columbia, with the pang of woe ; but must sink her to the abyfs of ruin.

WHEN WASHINGTON ! lived—we had one common mind—one common head—one common heart—we were united—we were strong—we were safe.—His vigilance gave us rest ; his counsel gave us wisdom ; and his name gave us an host. But he is now no more, and we in sadness, must ever deplore the loss. Silence would best become our grief ; but it would not become our love. Then as our love is even greater than our grief ; we must speak. We must express our gratitude, we must shew our admiration. And thus, will kind nature lessen our weight of sorrow. Yes, there is one consolation left us—and that is, to proclaim to a listening world, his deeds of matchless merit.

WHILE WASHINGTON ! was yet a youth, his country invaded by the savage foe, was threatened from the west with all the horrors of French and Indian war : At this awful moment—when the wife were confounded, and the valiant made to fear—then appeared the heroic soul of this young patriot. He stood forth, devoted to his country. His offered service was accepted—he explored the pathless wilderness, filled with the lurking savage, he traversed the rude and rocky mountains to the Ohio's bank, and brought thence the wanted intelligence. The enemy were there. The war ensues—he fights—his judgment saves a flying army—his valour checks the vicious foe. Monongahela witnessed the deed, where the ill fated Braddock fell.

AFTER this he commands ; and victory auspicious, declares WASHINGTON her future favorite ; as he best deserves her smiles.

THE enemy discomfited and beaten ; a peace succeeds with bright advantages—the acquisition of a country, new and wide.

WASHINGTON ! entwined with laurel, returns to his native home, equally the object of esteem and admiration. There he is the dutiful son—the affectionate brother—the faithful friend—the generous companion—the endearing husband, and the peaceful citizen. Under his own vine, and his own fig-tree, he is the theme of the brave, the example of the good, the counsel of the wise, the benefactor of the poor, and the friend of mankind. His heart attuned to the finest touches of nature, feels with the unfortunate and distressed. His hands, fraught with the bounties of Heaven, the fruits of his own industry, hold out raiment for the naked, food for the hungry, and relief for the sick, and for the maimed.

BUT alas ! he is gone ; no more to enlighten our council with wisdom, no more to lead our armies to victory, no more to relieve the wants of the needy, no more to give confidence to his friends, no more to gladden the countenance of the sad, no more to ornament the virtues of the age. Yet he lives in the hearts of the American people, in the valor of the brave, in the esteem of the good, in the admiration of the world. And memory ! immortal memory ! shall to endless ages perpetuate his name.

THE worth of WASHINGTON was not yet fully known. Once more the gathering storm of war coming now from the east, agitates his peaceful country. Her rights are violated, her privileges abridged, her tribute claimed, her shores invaded, her subjugation tried. A sense of power, requiring submission, presents itself; endless in duration, and boundless in extent. From the Atlantic to the mountains; from Georgia to Maine, all is commotion. While resentment, hope and despair alternately predominate.

THEN WASHINGTON! amidst the patriots, heroes and sages of the land, pre-eminent in the potent energy of his exalted mind, extends his view through all ranks and orders of his countrymen. He counts their numbers; he rates their talents; he tries their courage; he measures their fortitude; he estimates their means; he stops not here, but surveys the enemy; he sees them great in their strength; powerful in their riches, and mighty in their arms. He is not dismayed.

ON the one hand, is liberty, independence, empire; his country's empire: flourishing in agriculture, in commerce, in arts, and in science: On the other, her rights abridged, her laws controuled, her empire lost, her genius sunk, her enterprise extinguished. There stood death, conquest, and freedom—death to be braved, conquest to be won, and freedom gained, or all was lost. The task was bold, but the prize was great; it was his country's good. Here was submission, safety, office, riches, praise—for him a boon; all in the gift of royal bounty. He assumed the latter; and he claimed the first. For



his country it was, and not for himself he dared. His voice decides, and all resolve, on *Liberty* or *Death*.

THE Seniors of the nation now in Congress sat, pondering the mighty matters of impending war; and the no less weighty choice of a military chief. A choice, big with the fate of American liberty, and the unalienable rights of man; the rights of self-government. Now stood the guardian angel of infant liberty in agonies of doubt; now the genius of America, suspended on her wings, hovered in trepidation; when WASHINGTON, resurgent in the eyes of his compeers, was with one voice, proclaimed *Generalissimo*. The attendant messengers caught the joyous sound, and spreading it through America, it was thence reverberated to Heaven's highest arch.

WASHINGTON now repairs to camp near Boston. Here he finds collected the brave, though untutored *sons of liberty*. With sensations of joy they receive him, by silence best expressed. He on his part, surveys them as his brethren in arms, devoted to the sacred cause of liberty. He teaches them order, military pride, the love of fame, and discipline.

A WAR of seven years succeeds, with revolution, and the dismemberment of a mighty empire. Great were the dangers, great the toils, and great the services, which WASHINGTON encountered, shared, and performed.

WHEN from the arduous labors, and the busy scenes of day, all others sought rest and sleep, save



the wakeful centinel on his post, at the midnight hour, WASHINGTON denied himself to repose; he in his tent, the thin taper burning by his side, sits profound in thought; intent only on the safety, the accommodation, and the success of his patriotic band—his little army; the prop and hope of his country's fame and fortune. Hence it is, that Congress is inspired with the surest wisdom, their best resolves; hence it is, that confidence is diffused throughout the states: hence it is, that measures of defence, and schemes of attack are projected; hence it is, that the enemy learn to respect his name, and to fear his talents; and hence it is, that the universe reveres his wisdom, and admits his fame unrivalled.

Is there danger, he is first to meet it; is there labor, he is first to share it; is there distress, he is first to feel it; is there merit, he is first to praise it; is there service, he is first to perform it. In council he is wisest among the wise; in battle, he is bravest among the brave. His officers love him, he is their companion. His soldiers adore him, he is their safety. His fellow citizens admire him, he is their protector. To him their rights are sacred, their liberties are dear and their independence the first wish of his heart. Numerous are the difficulties with which he has to contend; various are the obstacles which he has to surmount; uncertain and changeful is the fate of war. But WASHINGTON rises superior to all opposition; he recruits his army, ever declining by the discharge of men whose time of service had expired; he disciplines his troops, for ever new by the accession of fresh recruits. This, although the least brilliant, is not the

least interesting or important part of his service. With inferior numbers he guards his country, and he intercepts his adversary.

LONG-ISLAND, is ready to attest his undaunted courage; the *Delaware*, his invincible fortitude; and *Trenton*, a most splendid victory.

His capacious and ever active mind, ranges the extensive limits of his country; his orders regulate the movements, while his soul animates the skill and courage of his distant armies. A *Gates*, a *Morgan* and a *Green*, are victorious, and WASHINGTON's liberal praise is reflected on himself. Misfortune neither abates his affection, nor diminishes his confidence. Nothing but vice can forfeit his esteem—On that he frowns with an unrelenting brow.

HIMSELF in adversity, he is not depressed; in prosperity he is not elated; one even tenor marks the majesty of his mind, whilst its prompt expedients and never-failing resources, prove it equally active, as it is sublime.

THUS, through the war, to its last scene, he supports the high expectations of his country's hope; and this now approaches, which he crowns with glory. The *Siege of York*, ever memorable in American annals, was conducted by WASHINGTON in person. Here his standard was erected; and his country rallied round him. Here his banners were unfurled; his trumpets sounded, and himself led to battle and to conquest; here he captured a British army. Here the *Lion* and the *Unicorn* crouched

before his presence ; here proud Albion laid her laurels at his feet, and here WASHINGTON with his own hands planted the never dying *Tree of Liberty*.

Now the trumpet of fame sounds loud, and for his deeds of worth unequalled ; now his army is devoted to his will ; now his fellow citizens offer themselves to his disposal. After so long and strenuous an exertion, the relaxation, on their part was extreme.

AN opinion of present safety, and of certain peace, absorbed the faculties of the people, and betrayed the vigilance and judgment of their civil rulers. A definitive peace, was however not yet proclaimed ; nor the army disbanded, although greatly neglected. It was ill fed, ill clothed, and ill paid. It was kept together solely from motives of love and respect for its General. He was incessant in his importunities to Congress, to do it justice. But painful to relate, that army which merited every thing, and got nothing ; that army, which solicited its rights, and received only a protraction of its wrongs ; that army, which under WASHINGTON, had given *Liberty to its Country*, so inconsistent are men, began now to frown on the production of its own travail and labour. Thus the wretched mother in the hard gripe of cold, of hunger, and of penury, despairing of future relief, abandons or destroys the infant offspring of her bosom.

IN the army, the low murmur of discontent, at first whispered through the ranks, was now turned



to loud complaint, and open menace ; even the project of military government, and self-redress was proclaimed. Such was the rage of want, disappointment and despair. Had not WASHINGTON been there, from that moment *Liberty* had been lost. Had he been a *Cæsar*, his army would have made him an *Emperor*. But being WASHINGTON, he brought that army to respect the civil authority, and to obey the laws of their country. He convinced his officers themselves, sore with service, and with suffering : He addressed his soldiers maddening under a sense of their wrongs ; he hears their complaints ; he knows them just ; he soothes their anguish ; he assures them of redress : He invokes them by the love they bear him ; by the good of their country ; by the sacred name of Liberty ; by all their honorable service ; by their most brilliant victories, and by their own unfulfilled fame, to relinquish so afflicting an idea, as that of turning their arms against their fellow citizens. He conjures them to return to their duty ; to compose themselves, and to wait from Congress, the justice of their country, which could not be long withheld. They are now irresolute what to do ; a sullen melancholy settles on their eyes, while he with a father's anguish implores them to comply with his requests. He pledges his sacred honor that they shall have justice, if they but ask it peaceably. Now their countenances are seen to brighten ; now they return to their tents, and again all is good order and obedience throughout the camp. Such was the influence ; such the purity, and such the magnanimity of WASHINGTON.



HERE let us pause—Here let us dwell on the consummate virtue of our departed friend and brother.

WHAT were all his military honors ; what his trophies of victory, compared to this ? Heretofore he had conquered only his enemies ; now he triumphs over the importunities of his friends, and his own ambition ; the most dangerous *virtue* of great and noble minds. Here he unites the *citizen* to the *soldier*, the *olive* to the *laurel* crown.

BUT this is not all ; his life was one tissue of great or good actions.

PEACE is now proclaimed ; Congress has done justice to the army, and it is now disbanded by WASHINGTON, as a father dismisses his children from a parental visit.

THE Warrior's sword is sheathed, and now the graceful Victor comes, dressed in the garlands of peace. The virgins strew his way with flowers ; the matrons hail him their deliverer, and all unite, with never dying laurel, to crown his brows.

His country now completely triumphant, is universally acknowledged *Independent* and declared *Free*. 'Tis now he tastes the recompense of all his toils. 'Tis now his soul feasts on the most delicious of all temporal repasts, a consciousness of having done his duty with effect, and with the approbation of his fellow citizens.

THE effulgence of his military glory, but illuminates the Philosopher, and the Sage. He appears before Congress, and bowing respect to the visible majesty of the people, he humbly offers his advice, the genuine fruit of his own observation and experience, and which time that tries all things, has consecrated the oracle of wisdom, and of truth: "Strengthen your Union, invigorate your Government," he says, "or all your toils are vain." Then with a father's blessing, and with a brother's love, he bids adieu! and to the tranquil shades of *Mount Vernon*, modestly withdraws.

IT is there all eyes pursue him, all hearts rejoice in him, and all minds adore him: Because it is there he repeats his acts of charity, of friendship; of utility and of piety: Yes, WASHINGTON was *pious* as he was *great*.

THAT, there is a God, who, on high, rules the affairs of men, was a belief deeply engraven on his mind. That God is good; and that to imitate his benevolence, is man's best service, and his highest praise; were the precepts, which he taught, by the practice of his life.

He projects the improvement of agriculture, *the first science of civilized man*, his own farm becomes the example of his countrymen. He essays the extension of navigation, and inland commerce, by which the comforts, and conveniences of life, are facilitated from one to another; and the *Potomack*, feels the joint effect of his genius, and his bounty. He recommends the institution of schools and the education of youth; by which knowledge may be

increased, and diffused ; as the surest path to greatness, and the best preservative of Liberty ; and he evinces his sincerity by the extent of his donations, and the repetition of his advice.

THUS time rolls on, the spheres revolve, the seasons change ; the day, the night succeeds, and incident, following incident, marks the changeful state of mortal things. But WASHINGTON is still the same ; ever great, and ever good. That confederation, which at first was framed, a compound of necessity and jealousy ; and which a sense of danger kept together during the war, was now relaxed in all its parts, and sinking to dissolution ; when the goddess of Liberty, alarmed for the fate of her favourite child, *American Independence*, flew to the councils of the nation, and proclaimed WASHINGTON's *farewell advice*. It was enough ; the heavenly ardour caught, and spread from breast to breast. A grand convention of all the states in union, was then invoked, and presently assembled. Amidst, pre-eminent, is WASHINGTON ; and he, with one voice, is called to preside over the production of a new order in government. Here he infuses into the minds of his compatriots, a copious portion of his ethereal spirit, brotherly affection, temperance and mutual concession : And a constitution is formed, on the model of human perfection. The signature of WASHINGTON, attests its worth, and assures its adoption.

IN its organization, an executive magistrate is wanted to enforce its laws, and ensure its good effects ; when the unanimous voice, of four mil-



lions of people, call WASHINGTON, to be *President of the United States*.

He comes, self-collected, the emblem of manly grace, conscious virtue, and well digested system.

AT sight of him, industry raised her drooping head; agriculture resumed her plough; mechanics displayed her instruments of various use, and commerce spread her whitened sails. Virtue smiled, learning rejoiced, and genius, ever ardent, already anticipated the reward of fame.

AND now, new scenes display themselves, and new exigencies call for the exercise of new talents. WASHINGTON ever equal to his destiny, is equal to all emergencies. He was first in the field, he is now first in the cabinet.

He lays the foundation of his policy, on the sacred principles of private justice, and of public faith. From these he never deviates. And his country feels and rejoices in their good effects.

THE convulsions, and wars, in *Europe*, like the angry waves of the Atlantic, now reach the American shore, and threaten to molest his country's peace and safety. He sees the danger at a distance, and he dissipates it, when afar. He proclaims the laws of peace, yet he prepares for the approach of war. "To be safe, we must ever be ready, to defend ourselves." This is the auspicious index, to his well chosen volume of political knowledge. And thus would he adapt his country, as himself, to every change of fortune. He baffles the intrigues,



and repels the open force of an enemy, who aims the poison, or who points the dagger, at his country's peace and independence.

THUS, his youth was consecrated to the service of his parent state; the fulness of his manhood dedicated to the establishment of American independence; and the decline of his age, devoted to its preservation. A skilful pilot, in a stormy sea, he firmly holds the helm, and onward steers the barque of state, toward her destined port. How well he performed his part; and what was the sense of his fellow passengers, are best evinced by their ardent and universal call for him, once more to repeat the same task of labor and hazard. And after four years experience, again the world hears with astonishment, that without one dissenting voice, the same four million of free men choose WASHINGTON, *President of the United States.*

AGAIN he serves, and again he manifests that he is still the same wise, and faithful guide. His generals subdue the savage enemy; he gives them peace; and the means of civilization. His diplomatic agents, conclude treaties, and he establishes the relations of peace, amity and commerce, with two great nations in Europe. He is no less solicitous to close, with a third, between whom, and us, unhappily differences had arisen.

His duty well performed, he once more retires, to his domestic scenes; he desires the pride, and solace of his life; but modest, as if unconscious of his mighty worth.

He served from duty and retired from choice.

HERE he asks repose, that he may dedicate a declining age, to himself and to his God.

FOR a time, his fellow citizens, filled with the justice of his claim, apparently consent. Yet when the frightful *demon* of war once more brandished his spear, with attitude threatening their country, a sense of danger, and the love of safety, once more prompts them to call him to command.

IN vain does age plead the waste of health ; in vain does private ease urge the safe enjoyment of plenty and repose ; in vain does ambition point to the blooming laurel on his brows ; in vain does fortune menace with a frown ; his country calls, and WASHINGTON knows, only to obey. He accepts the command ; and, confidence re-animates the public mind.

THUS like the sun, amidst the revolving planets, is WASHINGTON, among his fellow men. His presence gives light, and life, and joy ; his absence leaves darkness and dismay. And Oh ! that we, turning toward him now, could call him from the grave, once more, to cheer our sad, and drooping spirits. But he is gone beyond the sound of human voices ; beyond the reach of human hands ; a sun to illuminate another system.

He was prepared to go ; but we were not prepared to loose him. He is gone, and great is the void which he has left. As a flock, that has lost its shepherd ; as a company of mariners, who have

lost their pilot ; as a congregation of the pious ; who have lost their pastor ; we have lost our WASHINGTON. Yes, the people have lost their guide : the army has lost its general : the nation has lost its ornament : the universe of men, have lost their brightest luminary,

SERENE as light, reflected from the full orb'd moon, appeared his soul at the approach of death. His faculties in bright perfection, still retained the magnanimous virtues of his mind. His course was finished ; he saw his end, nor wished to avoid it. He saw his friends around him, his wife ! This melted his heart, and almost changed his will. He saw his country *free* and flourishing. He saw her *Independence* firmly established, on the numbers, the genius, and spirit of her sons. He saw the advance of social virtue, industry, arts, and knowledge. He saw the progress of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. His soul exulting at the rapturous view, was raised above the sense of pain. "To you my friends, adieu ! my blessings on my country ! my comfort !" he said, and closed his eyes.

Thus died WASHINGTON, as he had lived, *the father of his country*. His body rests in everlasting repose, his spirit is with his Saviour, and his God, his name is left with us. And here let us join and pour on it, the oblations of the heart ; love, gratitude, and praise. When we would teach our children the modest virtues of the man, and of the citizen, we will repeat that WASHINGTON was modest and virtuous. When we would stimulate them to activity, enterprize and the acquisition of knowledge, we will tell them that he was active,



enterprising, and wise. When we would inspire their minds, with the love of country; we will say to them, that he was a patriot. When we would fire their souls, with a love of military fame, we will remind them, that he was a Hero. When we would make them all that is useful, great or good, we will distinctly, recite to them the history of WASHINGTON. His deeds will be ever fresh in our minds, as he lives still in our feelings. Here let us cherish him; it will make us better sons, better fathers, better husbands, and better citizens. And thus shall his virtues be imitated, while liberty is dear, and while patriotism is honorable. It is thus, we shall pay the most grateful tribute to his name; it is thus, we shall benefit from his example; it is thus, we shall best perpetuate his memory.

AND now, may that Being, who gave WASHINGTON, to his infant country, in time of her greatest need, and who has since taken him from it, of his own will, have us, ever under his fatherly protection.



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